

BLACK FLAG

QUARTERLY

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AUTUMN 1983

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BOSSSES... THE REAL TIME THIEVES



JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST
IDEAS, NEWS & COMMENTS



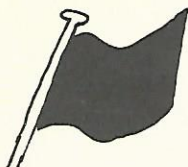
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How we made out on Black Flag this Year
- up to 8th August 1983

We hoped when we wrote off £5000 in
our last year's balance sheet we would
keep afloat thereafter, but our deficit
is again rearing its ugly head (yet it is
only 90 subscriptions or less away from
break-even point). The sales are looking
healthy though, especially the News
Bulletin; maybe the new Quarterly will
be a financial asset but that remains to
be seen. We still are in a unique position
of having no salaries, no rent and no
other overheads whatever to pay. The
postage bill takes a heavy swipe at us so
cancellations or notifications of not being
at an address any longer are almost as
welcome as Subs.

Some comrades have taken up the initiative
and written off to prisoners and managed
to keep up contact on a regular basis, this
is wonderful. Any other readers who want
to help out with the correspondence and
adopt a prisoner should write in and we
will reply, help with suggestions for how
to get involved.

The News Bulletin has attracted a good
deal of news reports from readers in the
different areas the Flag reaches, this flow
of information is a great help. Also
cartoons, photographs and clippings
are beginning to come in too. We want to
thank all our readers who have helped
out and welcome new subscribers to get
busy too.

Printing costs paid	677.00	
Postage	313.53	
Stationery	51.30	
	-----	1041.83

Sales & Subs	474.82	
Donations*	75.00	549.82

Lost	492.01	
Add previous deficit	324.91	

DEFICIT £816.92

*Donations: London TH £50, JT £10;
So'ton DC £3; Surrey LD £2; Reading
R £10 - TOTAL £75.

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MUTUAL AID FUND

Guam SS £178.78; Surrey LD £5;
London OC £5, Total £188.78
Less: Runaway kids £10, Spanish
prisoners' families £10, Comiso printing
£5 Total £25. We have £163.78 in hand.

Also: Vancouver 5 appeal - Surrey LD £5,
Tiverton Anarchists £3, Anon Streatham
£1, Carl & John £1 Total £10

Thanks to a magnificent response from
one comrade we have enough in hand to

meet all minor contingencies, and thanks
to the 'old faithfuls' for keeping up the
work of solidarity. We also learn from
various sources and prisoners whose names
we have passed on that they have been
receiving solidarity direct!

DAM is co-operating with us to send an
offset litho to the Brazilian comrades. We
have been held up by an apparent inter-
ruption in communications with Rio de
Janeiro. As soon as we hear the project
can go forward.

Anarcho- Quiz

1. Which London pub is named
after a Spanish guerrilla?
2. How was the caricature Anarch-
ist - which still makes queasy
journalists and judges shudder
- honoured by the British
Army?
3. The founder of German social-
democracy, Ferdinand Lassalle,
was highly respected by most
reactionary German politicians,
as well as by the working class
generally, for his erudition and
presence; but which politician
labelled him a 'dirty Jewish
nigger'?

4. Did the Anarchist Emma Gold-
man take the view that, if she
couldn't dance, she didn't want
any part of the revolution?
5. In a recent German trial, the
prosecution tried to make
political significance out of the
fact that the defendant called
her children Karl and Rosa
(which was rebuked by the
judge, whose Christian name was
Karl and whose mother's happen-
ed to be Rosa!): what well-
known British politician could
be indicted in similar vein?
6. What connection is there
between the famous German
Anarchist John Most, terror of
the ruling class in three countries,
and American football?

answers to quiz on page 39

WHY SPAIN'S ANARCHIST PRISONERS MUST BE FREED

There are about forty anarchists in jail in Spain at the moment, the majority of us detained in Carabanchel (Madrid), Segovia, and Barcelona, having been convicted, or awaiting conviction, for expropriations we carried out in order to supply the CNT (anarcho-syndicalist union) with badly needed funds, due to the fact that the Spanish Government refuses to return to this organisation the possessions that were seized by fascists in revolt on the 18th July 1936 in an attempt to suppress the revolutionary aspirations of the Spanish people. The present day value of these possessions (premises, newspapers & presses, current accounts etc.) is around 2 thousand million pesetas (10 million pounds) yet paradoxically the CNT is chronically short of funds to pay rent for its premises, print propaganda and carry out any other anarchist activities.

In my case, as an answer to all the charges against me - five in total, adding up to a 32½ year prison sentence - I frankly declared before the judges that I'd carried out armed robbery in order to restore (and restore by force because the Government leaves us no other choice) a small part of that which was taken away from the CNT by force. Several newspapers including *El País* (Madrid daily paper with the biggest circulation inside Spain) printed part of my speech before the court. As each government represents the interests of the dominant class, regardless of the type of regime that happens to exist in each country or moment in time, and as Franco's government (that passed the *Law of political responsibility* which enabled it to seize C.N.T. possessions towards the end of the Civil War) was representing the interests of capitalism, it is the capitalists who are really responsible for the CNT's problems. For this reason I directed my actions against the banks, the true heart of the capitalist system.

Of course, neither the CNT nor the anarchists now in jail were merely attempting to retrieve a part of private property, since private property is something totally alien to our ideals. Our intention in attempting to restore to the C.N.T. at least part of the possessions it lost was simply to defend the collective property of the worker's revolutionary movement.

As everyone knows, all anarchists reject the existence of the State as unnecessary and harmful and therefore reject all its laws....However, by studying the Spanish Penal Code we discover that all those anarchists who have been convicted for what the judges called "crimes against property" are in fact justified in their actions by the very same Code. For example, Article 8 of the Code states that if a person acts in self-defence or in the defence of their rights or someone else's, then this person is exempt from any criminal responsibility and cannot not be convicted, providing that:



1. The person has suffered from unlawful aggression.
 2. S/he used reasonable restraint in order to repel such aggression and,
 3. S/he did not provoke the situation.
- Clearly the military rising on the 18th July 1936 constitutes illegal aggression, ie. The crime of military rebellion, punishable by anything from a 20 year prison sentence to the Death penalty (until Capital punishment was abolished in 1978). With respect to using reasonable restraint, it's also clear that since - as I've just stated - the military were the aggressors, small groups of armed anarchists couldn't possibly exert more strength than a whole army. As for the 3rd requirement it's obvious that the C.N.T., whose aim is to emancipate all workers, wouldn't ever want to or need to provoke the army.

The same (8th) Article also states that a person is equally exempt from any criminal responsibility if, while trying to avoid injury s/he infringes on another person's rights, providing that:

1. The harm s/he caused was less than the injury s/he was trying to avoid and,
2. S/he did not intentionally cause the situation.

With respect to the first requirement, any harm caused by our actions has been infinitely less than the harm caused to the C.N.T. after its possessions had been stolen. As to the second requirement, it's evident that this situation wasn't intentionally caused by the C.N.T. nor by any of its members.

So using the simple application of the Law, all anarchists now in jail should have been acquitted by the courts, having met the requirements necessary to qualify for exempting circumstances.

And that isn't all...the latest penal reforms, as well as the jurisprudence of the Supreme Court, have all agreed that signed self-confessions alone are no longer sufficient proof of guilt, yet the majority of libertarians serving long sentences in Spain today have been convicted on no more proof than such "confessions", signed under the pressure of terrible tortures (physical and mental), inflicted by vicious cops who use the legal backing of the *Ley Organica 11/1980* (the so-called anti-terrorist Law), passed under the "New Democracy", allowing the police to arrest anyone and keep them "incommunicado" and to interrogate them for up to ten days without the presence of a lawyer. This Law has meant that a lot of us have been convicted by the "Audiencia Nacional" (Special Court that tries "terrorist" offenders) in the face of unbelievable police accusations.

Now nobody believes that the PSOE's (Spanish Socialist Party) victory in the general election last year and in the municipal election on the 8th May this year has made any difference to the social-political situation here. The Socialists may be in government, but they don't have any real power because this continues to be held by those who have always had it: the Army, the Banks and the Catholic Church.

So while a fascist soldier was recently freed "through lack of evidence", when his part in a failed plot to overthrow the Government was perfectly obvious - we Anarchists remain incarcerated after years of seclusion. Moreover, these fascist prisoners enjoy all sorts of comforts and facilities while anarchists enjoy conditions much worse.

Many politicians have promised to return the C.N.T.'s possessions since the Socialists took office, including the President himself (Felipe Gonzalez), the Economics Minister (Miguel Boyer) and the President of the Senate's Justice Committee (Mario Garcia Oliva). The latter saying that the Law of political responsibility passed under Franco (see earlier in this letter), "consecrated the principle of armed robbery," adding, "The return of these possessions is something that cannot be put off any longer." Thus acknowledging the anarchist's claim to compensation. Why then do we remain in prison? Any why hasn't any compensation been paid?....

If amnesty is a permanent demand while prisons exist, it is now an unrenounceable necessity for all libertarian prisoners in Spain, considering the unjustness of our situation. In this sense I believe international solidarity would be extremely important. Nevertheless, I would like to make it clear that this article reflects my own personal opinions and those of MANUEL NOGALES TORO (a car worker at SEAT Automobile factory, Barcelona) who agrees with this article wholeheartedly. Unfortunately we don't know the opinions of other comrades yet because the majority of them are at present in jail at Carabanchel (Madrid).

Anarchist greetings to all comrades in Britain from Segovia Prison,

VIVA LA C.N.T.! VIVA LA ANARQUIA!
AMNESTY FOR ALL LIBERTARIAN PRISONERS!

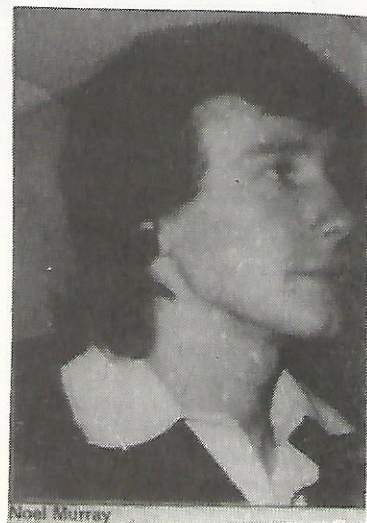
FIDEL MANRIQUE GARRIDO
(C.N.T. MILITANT)



Prison Struggles



Marie McPhillips



Noel Murray

Noel and Marie Murray are now in Limerick gaol. They have served around seven years of their life sentence (they were convicted of armed robbery and shooting a cop). Although married they are not, and have never been, allowed to see each other all the time they have been imprisoned. The campaign for their conjugal rights never really got anywhere. Noel and Marie are revolutionary anarchists of long standing and are good friends of the Black Cross. We now believe that it is about time that the Irish state considers their early release. It is too early yet for remission, but parole is still a possibility; there are plenty of people around who are more than willing to offer surety on their behalf. In the meantime Noel and Marie would like to receive correspondence. Show them they are not alone. Our contact in Ireland says that they do not have a prison number and that letters are getting through; he also says that they prefer to be addressed as the Murray Family (it is important that the prison authorities do not treat them separately.)

You can also help by writing to:

Minister of Justice, Dept. of Justice, Stephens Green, Dublin 2, Ireland.

You can contact Noel and Marie by writing to:

The Murray Family, Limerick Gaol, County Limerick, Ireland.

Two members of Azione Rivoluzionaria, Gaby Hartwig and Willy Piroch, are being held in sensory deprivation 'psycho' cells. Cameras have been installed to watch them constantly twenty-four hours a day. The prison wings have been completely automated and doors are closed and opened by remote control. No coloured objects are allowed inside the cells. Both are serving a sentence of 24 years. They can be contacted as follows:

Gaby Hartwig, Carcere Speciale, via Medassimo, Voghere, ITALY.

Willy Piroch, Carcere Speciale, Andria 300 1-70059 Trani (BA), ITALY.

Photis Danatos, the anarchist convicted of fire-bombing a bank and who was on hunger strike, has escaped and is now on the run. Photis was at first in the prison hospital before being transferred to a civilian hospital. With the assistance of two friends he managed to escape from the hospital. His friend Kyriakos Miras is also on the run.

ALTERNATIVES TO 'DEFENCE'

NUCLEAR FREE DEFENCE, a Symposium of non-nuclear ideas (Heretic Books).

In a contribution to the book *Nuclear Free Defence*, Stuart Christie gives an outline of an 'alternative' — that is to say, anti-authoritarian — Defence policy which goes deeper than anything written hitherto.

What has raised some eyebrows among those who have read it is his acceptance of such things as a 'standing army' — which caused one package deal critic to dismiss it saying 'I'm not sure he's on the same side' which may well be true. A workers militia must include the concept of a standing army. Nobody can expect a worker's militia — seriously considered as a defence force of a successful revolution — to consist of people who take arms and sophisticated arms at that, home with them, or place them in the factory changing room, leaving their armoured cars and craft in the nearest parking lot. Obviously any modern country has got to consider a standing army — but that poses a problem to the revolution, for this standing army can be — or impose — the counter-revolution. How is this to be overcome? There is no previous positive precedent to go on. This is a first contribution to a subject requiring considerable attention — both for its importance and for the 'objection' it poses in the minds of Statists to Anarchism.

The word 'defence' begs many questions, first of all what exactly is being defended. Is the defence of national territory ever a legitimate goal? Do you accept collective defence at any other level, for example that of class, race, sex, community, cultural values or civil liberties?

Stuart Christie: The short and simple answer is yes, but it is very important to define as precisely as possible what one means by 'national territory'. Together with 'national interest' these are usually concepts defined by the state. Working people have to define and defend their interests on a regional, industrial, political and cultural basis. Collective effort is the only way they can defend their interests effectively.

Defence is traditionally supposed to guarantee national security. Is such a guarantee possible? Given the world's present East-West and North-South divisions, what military threats might a nuclear-free and non-aligned Britain face?

Stuart Christie: Firstly, I am highly sceptical of the claims made by the 'extremists of the centre' as to the expansionist aspirations of Soviet Russia. Russia has made no territorial advances in the West since 1945 and its diplomatic and military advances elsewhere, in an American style 'advisory capacity', have been part and parcel of the power struggle between East and West for leadership of the developing and non-aligned nations. The Russian military and political machine is vastly overstretched as it is. If it were to embark on a policy of expansion it could find its house of cards come tumbling around it and push its borders back to the original Duchy of Moscow. Another unlikely scenario is the re-occupation of Orkney by a revanchist Danish junta. No, the main threat as I see it doesn't come from an external source, although such threats do undoubtedly exist, nor

even from internal subversion from the left or the right, but from the 'extremists of the centre' who are now confronted with the natural contradictions of democracy in a highly educated, mobilised and participant-oriented society.

As elsewhere, I believe the main threat to a nuclear-free and non-aligned Britain (which in itself would suggest that the mounting demands for 'accountability' and 'open government' had been effective) would come from NATO and those private back-up organisations which support it. NATO troops may not invade physically — for a time — but they would certainly do everything in their power to destabilise the country and/or contrive a series of incidents to ensure a prompt return to the fold.

A few years ago (1976) the Italian weekly magazine *Europeo* broke a story which was later supported by the testimony of senior army officers and the head of the Italian and NATO intelligence service, General Miceli. According to a secret clause to the NATO compacts of



continued next page...

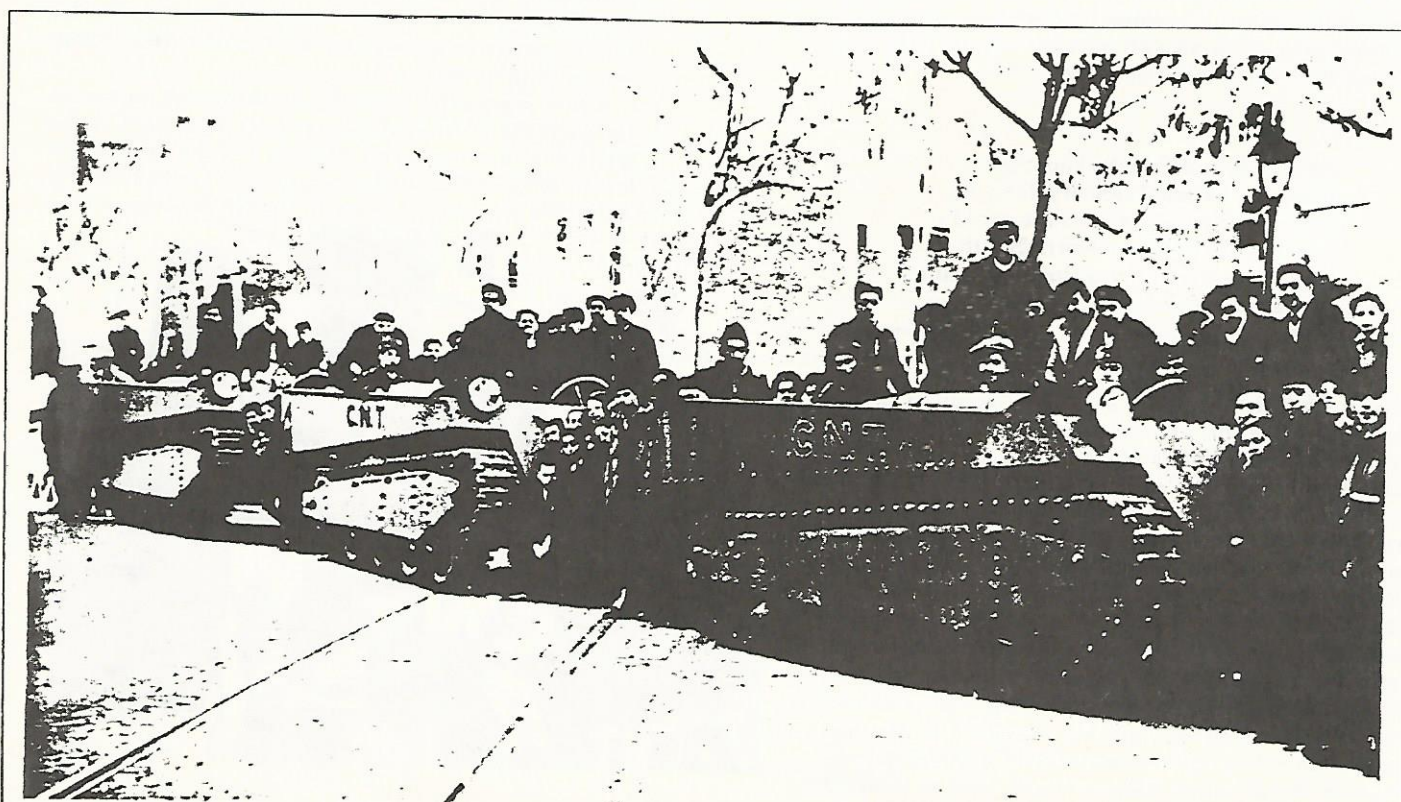
1965 all the countries of NATO were to set up an organisation composed of trustworthy and capable individuals endowed with the necessary means and capable of intervening effectively in the event of external socialist aggression or internal political upheavals.' Known as the Rosa dei Venti organisation, this 'parallel' service was set up, according to General Miceli, the then head of the Italian SID and director of NATO security, 'at the request of the Americans and NATO'. Basically, it was a parallel secret service and armed militia who were carefully recruited on the basis of their anti-communist zeal. According to *Europeo*, these anti-communists, all members of neo-fascist terrorist organisations such as Ordine Nuovo and Avanguardia Nazionale, had received training at a NATO base in Alghero, Sardinia, in 1968. All of them, under the control of NATO intelligence officers such as Guido Giannettini and Robert Leroy, were later fully implicated in the wave of fascist terrorism — 'the strategy of tension' — which has rocked Italy since April 1969. *Europeo* went on to state that this 'parallel' service had also been set up in Britain, Belgium and Germany. It is interesting to note that the Deputy Chief of Staff in charge of NATO plans, operation and intelligence during the period in question was none other than General Sir Walter Walker, KCB, CBE, DSO, who, when he retired as NATO C-in-C in 1972, immediately set about establishing his private army which exists today under the name UNISON. UNISON and other similar little-known anti-communist/socialist organisations such as the Legion of Frontiersmen of the Commonwealth come under the aegis of the Resistance and Psychological Operations Committee, a covert group within the government-funded Reserve Forces Association. The RFA is the representative body of British military reservists and the British component of the NATO-supported Confédération Inter-Alliés des Officiers de Réserve. The RFA was formed in 1970 and is formally an independent organisation, but its 214 members represent all the reserve units of the armed forces. According to Chapman Pincher, close links have been formed with similar units in several European countries, which are actively recruiting 'anti-communist

resistance fighters' (*Daily Express*, 18 July 1977). They are also said to have established an intelligence network which NATO chiefs regard as being of great value. (See *State Research* 2, November 1977.)

The Greek coup of 1967 was effected by 'Plan Prometheus', a NATO contingency plan devised in the 1950s to be implemented in the event of an internal uprising. The coup itself was effected by only 300 of Greece's 10,000-strong officer corps, most of them drawn from the elite NATO-controlled unit, the LOK (Mountain Assault Brigade), comprising only 700 men and organised along the lines of the US Special Forces — and directly trained by the Americans. At the time, Colonel Papadopoulos claimed the coup was to prevent the country going communist, but a fortnight after the coup General Pattakos admitted it had been carried out simply to forestall the elections. Also, the known Italian coup plots of July 1964, the Prince Borghese-led coup of 1970, the Rosa dei Venti plot of 1973, the Edgardo Sogno plot of 1974 — all had identified and inextricable links with NATO and the NATO Secretariat. There were also links between French NATO generals and the OAS putschists in Algiers. I think there is more than sufficient evidence to support the thesis that the main military threat to a non-aligned Britain would come from NATO rather than Russia.

Questions of defence cannot be separated ultimately from wider questions of international relations. What principles should govern British foreign policy in future?

Stuart Christie: International policy should be directed towards encouraging a libertarian alternative to statism and multinational consumer capitalism that is not marxism-leninism. The peoples of Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East should be given solidarity in throwing off the tutelage of multinational capitalism which views the world as its factory, farm and supermarket and, in order to secure its investment, imposes and bolsters the most repressive and barbaric



C.N.T.: 'de armas tomar!



regimes imaginable. The net result of this policy is to throw the developing countries into the hands of one or other of the two Eastern bloc countries.

Do you see any other country as offering a model for an alternative defence policy in Britain?

Stuart Christie: Not really. There are certainly some useful lessons to be drawn from the experiences of such countries as Switzerland, Israel, Yugoslavia and so on, but there are more important historical models such as the Makhnovist Insurrectionary Army of the Ukraine in revolutionary Russia which was organised along libertarian principles. There are also later examples such as the popular militias organised by the labour unions in Spain during the Civil War, Durruti's Iron Column and the Madrid-based National Council of Defence. More importantly, in the British context, there is Tom Wintringham's invaluable contribution to the subject of democratic defence policies and the experiences of the Local Defence Volunteers, inspired by the Spanish popular militias. Wintringham's ideas and experiences would certainly be worthwhile re-examining in the light of modern-day requirements.

Military coups are a relatively common experience in countries beset by political and economic crises. The British army now devotes a great deal of energy to counter-insurgency training, i.e. against internal 'threats to national security'. Do you see any danger of the army being used to thwart the will of the people? If so, how should democrats act to prevent this?

Stuart Christie: Pio Baroja once said about the (Spanish) army: 'In times of peace it shoots the people. In times of war it runs away.' A more contemporary observer, Field-Marshal Lord Carver, wrote in his prefatory endorsement of General Sir Frank Kitson's *Low Intensity Operations*: 'If a genuine and serious grievance arose, such as might result from a significant drop in the standard of

living, all those who dissipate their protest over a wide variety of causes might concentrate their efforts and produce a situation which was beyond the power of the police to handle. Should this happen, the army would be required to restore the position rapidly. Fumbling at this juncture might have grave consequences, even to the extent of undermining confidence in the whole system of government.' The fact is that if people are sufficiently motivated to take to the streets, occupy factories and take over the public services, then it is unlikely that the government will have the confidence of the people. One should also ask, to what position is it the army would restore us?

It is widely recognised that defence policy is significantly influenced by the arms industries — whether private or state-owned. In Britain the manufacture and sale of armaments provides employment and exports. How would you deal with the 'defence industries' and the arms trade?

Stuart Christie: Our approach to the sale of arms abroad would have to reflect our foreign policy with regard to the Third World and developing nations. We would obviously be obliged to provide arms and weapons systems to friends in need. The big problem is identifying what is a genuine need and what is not. It would be worthwhile taking note of what the workers of Lucas Aerospace have done in this respect. One approach would be to ensure only workers' coops were licensed to manufacture and sell armaments and that the members of the coops were provided with regular background briefing on the political, social, military and religious situation in those countries which placed the orders. There would also need to be further safeguards that the arms were in fact for the use of those for whom they were ostensibly purchased.

Do you see a role for protective civil defence in a nuclear-free Britain?

Stuart Christie: I can see no justification at all for sustaining the myth that there is any defence whatsoever against nuclear attack — other than ensuring Britain is declared a nuclear-free zone. On the other hand, however, there may well be a case for some sort of voluntary rescue service capable of responding to local and national disasters.

Should women play an equal role in the armed forces at all levels?

Stuart Christie: If we wish to build a truly democratic defence force then we have to break all the moulds which have limited and restricted us in the past. Every single member of the community — old, young, disabled, male, female, gay, black, white, yellow, etc. — has something they can contribute to such a defence force.

Britain is unusual in not having conscription, with responsibility for defence left completely to 'the professionals'. Senior officers, moreover, vigorously oppose the reintroduction of National Service. One reason is clearly that a reluctant army is more troublesome than a willing one. Another may be that conscription would result in the influx of political ideas that at present

ANARCHIST ALTERNATIVES TO DEFENCE ANARCHIST ALTERNATIVES TO DEFENCE ANARCHIST ALTERNATIVES TO DEFENCE ANARCHIST ALTERNATIVES TO DEFENCE

have little currency in the services, as well as in the wide dissemination of a familiarity with weapons and tactics. Would you support universal military training (or alternatively training in non-violent resistance) if the context were sufficiently democratic? What would this condition mean in practice?

Stuart Christie: I would only support universal military training — or training in non-violent resistance — if I were convinced the context was sufficiently democratic and it was organised on a purely voluntary basis with emphasis on the workplace as the basic militia-training unit. Bonds are strongest there and mutual knowledge deepest. The other headache, of course, would be how to neutralise or minimise the effect of neo-fascist and anti-democratic elements who may try to infiltrate in order to control the defence force at platoon level. Properly structured, however, I don't think they would present much of a danger and contact with a wider circle of people would, I'm sure, have a positive effect on all but the more obsessive and hardened of them.

Do you see any scope for defence cooperation between a nuclear-free Britain and any other country or countries? What might this involve?

Stuart Christie: Most definitely. The more allies or friends you can call on, the more effective your defence will be. However, defence agreements would not be between nation states as such, but rather based on mutual solidarity pacts between genuinely democratic and representative institutions in each country or region. Imagine what a difference a full-blooded task force such as that sent to the Falklands would have had on Franco — to say nothing of Hitler. Obviously the decision to intervene militarily in another country's internal affairs is not one to be taken lightly, but mutual solidarity pacts between representative democracies will be essential if we are to defend ourselves successfully against the forces of reaction.

Would you personally be prepared to kill people in any circumstances? Do you draw a line between acceptable and unacceptable forms of resistance?

Stuart Christie: As an anarchist I am bound by my social and political beliefs to a mode of working that reflects and furthers those beliefs. As to killing people, I think the line I would draw would be that dictated by common sense. I don't think I would hesitate to shoot anyone threatening the lives of innocent people if it appeared to me obvious they meant to carry out their threat — or someone with their finger on the button that would trigger off World War III. On the other hand, knowing what I know now, I doubt if I would have become involved in a plot to assassinate General Franco in 1964. The years between 1936 and 1945, perhaps — but 1964, no. I should add that the mere fact I was arrested and sentenced to twenty years for what I did probably achieved more for the anti-francoist movement in terms of mobilising world opinion than killing Franco would have done.

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Attitudes to militarism have been rather mixed on the left, except among pacifists. Many people who in principle are opposed to militarism have found themselves accommodating a degree of militarist outlook in relation to national liberation movements and the defence of 'revolutionary' states. Is it possible to pursue any sort of armed defence policy without contributing to militarism?

Stuart Christie: That depends entirely on the social and political motivation of those involved and the organisational structure of the defence force. Traditionally, guerrilla and liberation movements have had most success when they are fighting on their own territory and in defence of their class interests. The danger of militarism arises when a conflict develops between obligations to one's comrades and the society of the outside world. Also dangerous is the abandonment or suspension of normal moral and social considerations. Only a soldier of the nation state or of a marxist-leninist or corporate state claims to be released from personal morality on taking his or her oath of allegiance. So far as anarchists are concerned, the manner in which we carry out our tasks is as important as the task itself.

Safeguards can be built in to ensure the armed forces remain defensive in concept. The defence units must be democratically structured and seen as an integral part of the community, sharing common goals — not something grafted on by an external authority or under the control of any political party or organisation. Instant unquestioning obedience would be superfluous in a well-managed and democratically controlled defence force.

Alternative defence proposals cover a wide spectrum. At the least radical end is the retention of a strong conventional force and perhaps even membership of a de-nuclearised NATO. At the most radical end are policies based on 'civilian defence', i.e. organised but non-violent resistance. In between there are various possibilities based on territorial forces or a citizens' militia. There is also the view that aggression is best dealt with by non-resistance. What kind of policy do you advocate, would it have a deterrent effect, and what are your comments on the other approaches?

Stuart Christie: One definition of war is that it is 'an act of violence to compel our opponent to fulfill our will'. Nation states are born in violence, for the most part relate to each other through violence and maintain their power and privilege through violence or the threat of violence. If there were some viable non-violent method of overcoming or neutralising an enemy without causing bloodshed not only pacifists but squaddies would be overjoyed as well.

I would advocate a two-tier defence policy — a standing army and a Community Defence Force based on a local and industrial level. A standing professional army would act as a front-line defence force in the event of external aggression.

This outstanding defence force would, of course, be structurally different to the present army and would be run by Soldiers' Councils. It would be organised on three basic principles: voluntary enlistment, an electoral

ANARCHIST ALTERNATIVES TO DEFENCE ANARCHIST ALTERNATIVES TO DEFENCE ANARCHIST ALTERNATIVES TO DEFENCE ANARCHIST ALTERNATIVES TO DEFENCE

command structure whereby all commanders are elected by units (each basic unit being small enough to work out its own fluid command structure), and self-discipline whereby rules for discipline are drawn up by the Soldiers' Councils and generally approved and ratified by all units. The disciplinary rules would have to be observed on the basis of individual responsibility and awareness of the possible results of ill-discipline on one's fellow soldiers and the community one is defending.

There is a lot of nonsense talked about anarchists balking at providing leadership in a situation where immediate decisions have to be made. In small units the relationship is similar to that between a musician and a conductor, or a nurse and a surgeon. Even in much larger groups a similar relationship can exist between commanders (not officers!) and men as witness the defence of Madrid in 1939 by the National Council of Defence coordinated by the anarchist bricklayer Cipriano Mera, commander of the IV Army Corps.

An anarchist would require that all defence units should be independent of orders from external sources, except in the case of overall strategy as agreed by unit coordinators at platoon level. The basic defence unit should comprise small groups of 5-15 persons, loosely grouped in a non-hierarchical fashion into platoons of approximately 100. These units would be responsible for organising their own training and identifying targets and local objectives as well as running their own intelligence-gathering and counter-intelligence functions. It would require, however, all intelligence to be pooled in the data banks of a unified computer system with compatible terminals and a common operating procedure.

It would also be essential to avoid any tendency to organise along conventional military lines — to group into large battalions under a general staff subject to decisions based on possibly questionable political or military expediency, or to 'party' or 'popular front' type control. Apart from avoiding the temptation to engage a superior army in conventional-style warfare which

could at worst lead to defeat, or at best unnecessary losses of people and equipment, it would, more importantly, ensure that political power remained with the rank and file and did not pass to the centralised leadership of a party as happened with such disastrous consequences during the Spanish revolution in 1937.

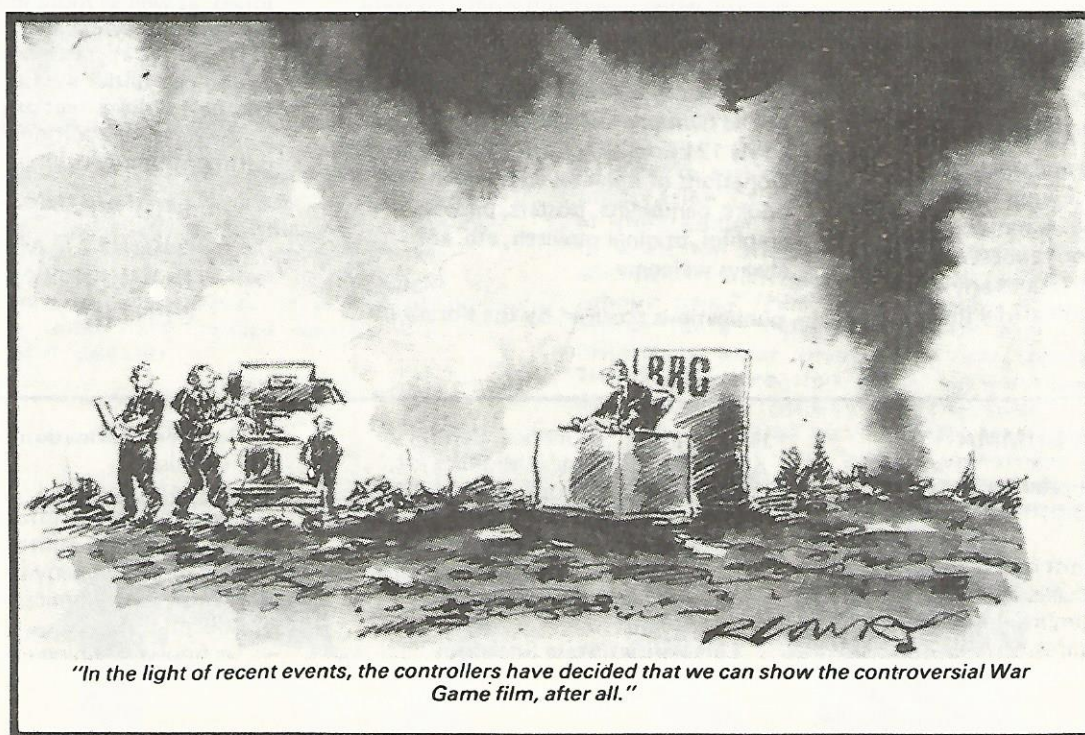
I am certain a democratically structured and popularly controlled two-tier defence force would have the desired effect of dissuading any prospective belligerent from any act of aggression. Apart from the enormous cost in manpower and resources involved in having to fight every inch of the way against an enemy which encompasses the entire population and maintaining lines of supply to an army of occupation, there is also the destabilising effect in the home and other occupied territories of properly conducted psychological warfare on the aggressor's military forces and civilian population. A people who place their entire confidence in an army which is then defeated are easily demoralised, subjugated and exploited.

What immediate steps could be taken in the direction of the policy you favour?

Stuart Christie: 'First catch your hare' (Mrs Beeton). The first step would be to democratise the army by introducing military syndicates within the armed services, establish a mechanism whereby these syndicates are coordinated through Soldiers' Councils which would have full power to manage and coordinate the various regiments, corps and establishments as well as taking responsibility for military discipline and counter-intelligence functions.

It would also be essential to ensure both tiers of the defence force were kept independent and separate. Armed defence, for example, should come under the control of a local authority such as the Community Council on which local organisations such as the trades councils etc. were represented. Each local authority would run its own recruitment and training programme and be responsible for its own equipment and back-up services.

continued next page....



The present character of the British armed forces is strongly marked by Britain's history of imperialism and class division. How might a programme of military reform tackle the internal organisation of the armed forces, and how would this depend on other social advances?

Stuart Christie: According to the *Guardian* (16 October 1980) at least 50 per cent of the officer class has been recruited from public schools, but I seriously doubt if a policy of wider recruitment would change the nature of the officer corps. In the USA, for example, the officer corps is, on the whole, representative of the community as a whole — but it doesn't improve it any! Officers represent a superior class and, even if they don't come from it, they are there to ensure the loyalty of the army to the established order. Officers perceive themselves as 'professional people' (i.e. those whose education and upbringing lead them to believe they are the natural and impartial administrators of society), but in effect their 'officer quality' rating is assessed on their ability to get others to obey them. Those sort of attitudes and relationships are anachronistic and have no place in a genuinely democratic defence force. Ranks should be limited to sergeant, corporal, etc., and reflect accumulated experience of dealing with people, military expertise and, above all, the confidence of those with whom they live and work. The officer corps as such should be abolished and the technical, scientific, logistical and managerial functions normally assumed to be the domain of officers and the Ministry of Defence would be taken over by other specialist corps subject to the same rules and regulations as the rest of the defence

force and not exercising political or military control over it.

There has been no military intervention in the political life of this country since Cromwell, nor has militarism ever been a strong force in British politics, but the danger with any army in any state is that if you give it power to deal with external or internal enemies, ultimately it will rule the country. The main trend in contemporary military thinking is towards the internal rather than the external threat. The growing obsession with the threat of organised labour as a tool of Soviet subversion and counter-insurgency has greatly increased the politicisation of British army officers. With the impinging friendship circles of their class in industry, banking and political life, this makes a potentially dangerous enemy which feels threatened and sensitive to any move seen as likely to diminish or weaken its ability to defend itself. In effect, any radical re-structuring of the armed forces would have to follow a major scandal such as a failed 'pre-emptive' coup or evidence of major corruption or malfeasance.



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Many publications received by the library on

a regular basis are taken through subscriptions; to help keep costs down we ask all regular users of the library to donation £5 a year.

Periodicals/papers include collections (mostly complete) of most anarchist papers for nearly all the countries mentioned, as well as more local anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist papers.

There are also extensive collections of periodicals under the Counter-information and Left Politics sections.

We have, in addition, built up a news-cuttings library.

LIBERTARIAN ARCHIVE AND DOCUMENTATION CENTRE

INDEX SUMMARY

1. Anarchism/Libertarian Socialism

- Anarchist theory, history, biographies etc.
- Current anarchist news/analysis
- Anarcho-syndicalism
- Anarchist communism
- Anarchist-Feminism
- Libertarian Socialism/Councillism.

2. **International** (each sub-section includes anarchist material as well as leftist material and counter-information).

USA, Canada, S America, Central America, Asia, Africa, Middle East, USSR, Eastern Europe, Poland, Italy, France, Spain and Portugal, Germany, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland and Austria, Scandinavia, Ireland, Australasia, Japan, Greece, Turkey etc.

3. Left Politics/State Socialism

- Marxism
- Bolshevism and Stalinism
- Trotskyism
- Social Democracy

4. Counter-information

- Feminism
- Prisons/police/legal
- Fascism/anti-fascism/black resistance
- Militarism/anti-militarism
- Industrial/company information etc
- Capitalist economics/power structures
- Education/Media
- Technology, ecology, environmentalism
- Sexuality, gay etc.
- Counter-culture
- Housing
- Miscellaneous counter-information

POLAND

COMMUNIQUE OF EMMANUEL GOLDSTEIN GROUP

'To realize our plans and to spread the libertarian ideas to a wider public in Poland we need urgently your political but also your practical solidarity.'

Thus ended an 'Appeal to the libertarian movement in the West' of Polish libertarians which has found since its first publication in December 1982 a remarkable resonance in the international anarchist press. Recently we received some new information from our comrades in Warszawa who have founded in June the EMANUEL GOLDSTEIN GROUP and have sent us a first tape-recorded communique in which they explain today's situation and their plans for the near future.

First some words about the results of the solidarity campaign for the support of the Polish comrades. The solidarity fund was closed in June with the result of 3500DM (about £685UK) which was collected by the international libertarian movement. The money was given to the Polish libertarians in mid June. With the help of this money they will be now able to solve at least the fundamental financial and technical problems connected with publishing libertarian texts today in Poland.

Since last year the situation of our Polish comrades and the conditions for their activities have become worse. Because of a total lack of technical equipment and financial problems the group has so far not been able to publish their own underground paper and pamphlets as was planned. Instead they tried to spread their ideas by writing articles in undogmatic leftist underground papers as *Rownosc*, *Mis* and in the *Solidarnosc*-underground press with left wing tendencies.

After *Rownosc* and *Mis* stopped their publications because of distribution problems caused mainly by right wing *Solidarnosc* leaders the group was able to publish only the occasional article in underground *Solidarnosc* papers. Besides their difficulties with publishing libertarian literature the comrades in Warszawa were not able to get into contact with similar groups in Poland who are working all under strictly conspirative conditions. Because of these problems they concentrated their activities mainly on translations of libertarian texts which they intend to publish hopefully already this year.

Some misunderstandings were caused by using the name *Sigma* in their first 'Appeal to the libertarian movement in the West' (see *IZTOK*-communique No.5/1983 and *Die Aktion*. Anarchistisches Magazin, No. 2 1983, p.18) The decision to use this name was made out of security reasons, the confusion which was caused by it was not intended. Today *Sigma* which still exists in

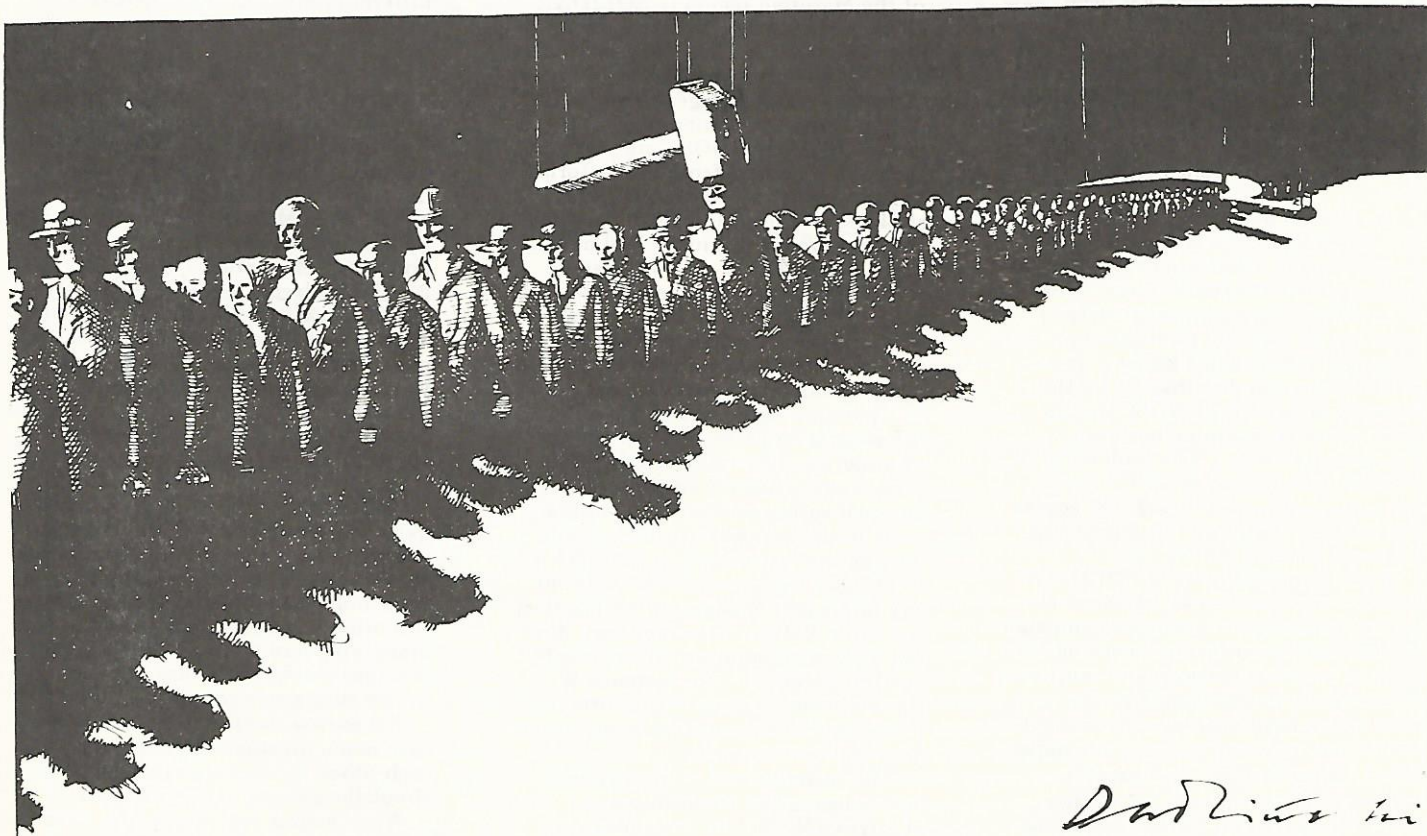
Warszawa as a legal student organisation, is dominated mainly by a trotskyist fraction. On the other hand *Sigma* is observed of course very carefully by the secret police who try to use *Sigma* for channeling the oppositional student movement in a legal frame which can be controlled easily.

Because of the dangers which are connected with contacts to *Sigma* most of the libertarians broke relations this year with this student circle and have formed in June the independant underground press EMANUEL GOLDSTEIN GROUP. The name is a homage to George Orwell, whose novel "1984" is an underground bestseller especially among the Polish youth.

In its first communique the EMANUEL GOLDSTEIN GROUP gives some general information about today's situation of underground *Solidarnosc* and the Polish left wing opposition followed by a description of their own specific problems, plans and perspectives.

D.B. — Hamburg

continued next page....



David Lister

1. COMMUNIQUE OF EMANUEL GOLDSTEIN GROUP Warszawa (transcription of the tape-recorded statement)

(music in the beginning: by a very popular Polish new wave group; the refrain which says "we want to be ourselves!" sound in Polish similar to "we want to beat ZOMO!" which is a special police unit used for suppressing demonstrations.)

This is the first communique of Emanuel Goldstein Group.

Listen dear comrades from the West! On June 16th we have founded the Emanuel Goldstein Group. We are Polish libertarians and here is some information for our western friends.

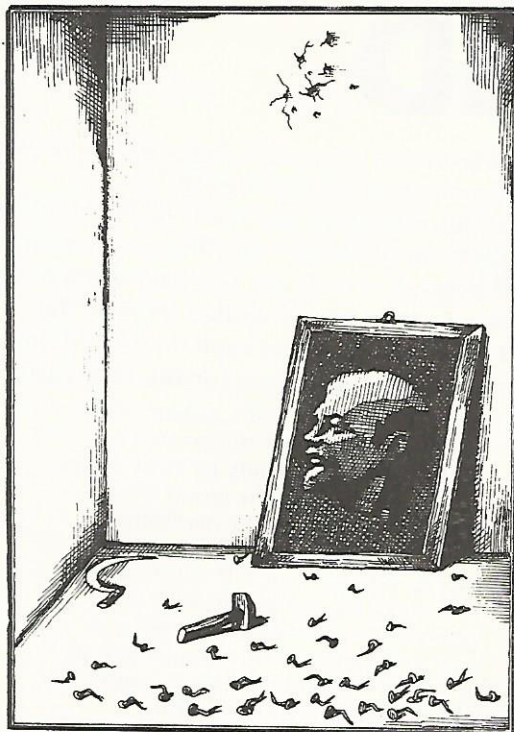
First some words about all that SIGMA-confusion. SIGMA is still a group of leftists but they are active only in the legal frames allowed by the Communist Party. We don't want to have contacts with those people anymore. Before December 13th the situation was different. Some possibilities of expressing libertarian ideas in print existed (in the magazine *Nowa Gazeta Mazowiecka* and in the pamphlet series *Archiwum Lewicy*). Now SIGMA is a kind of a security valve. It can be a great help for the secret police to have left wing people gathered in one place; it is easier to control them. By the way, now the total number of SIGMA-members is only seven. Before martial law it had a membership of 50.

And now something about the situation of Polish left-radical opposition. Within the last months the situation here has become worse. The contacts to other groups has been broken, especially with well-equipped underground publishing houses and printing shops. They have wanted to get twice as much money for printing leftist underground literature. SOLIDARNOSC-leaders have been ordered not to distribute publications of this kind.

To give an example: the leaders of SOLIDARNOSC for several times stopped the distribution of a leftist journal called *Mis* (teddy bear) because of its revolutionary and anti-clerical position. So you can publish something and you will not know if you have a chance to distribute it by the network of SOLIDARNOSC-distributors. Another example has been *Rownosc* (equality). The underground printers took money from *Rownosc* and promised to produce 2,000 copies and actually they only produced (for the same price) 500 ones.

Right wing elements of SOLIDARNOSC — we even can say it about all its top leadership — started a campaign against these publications accusing them of national betrayal and political provocation. In this campaign the most active have been people connected with an underground catholic paper called *Victoria* which has the holy mother in its title head. In another paper called *Niepodleglosc* (Independence) — in its 8th issue 1982 — they published an article in which they accused *Rownosc* to be a paper of the security police.

Black Flag Autumn 1983 page 12



Besides, libertarian publications have been very popular among Polish workers even if they are roman-catholics. They are really interested in anarchist ideas, especially because official propaganda uses the word *anarchy* in a negative context as something anti-communist.

And now some words about underground SOLIDARNOSC movement. SOLIDARNOSC is not a homogeneous organisation. Only a part of its former members — about 100,000 — are still active for instance in the field of distribution of underground literature, especially journals. We can probably say that their total monthly numbers of copies is from about 3 to 8 million. The dissident Centre of Social Research of the Masurian region (a SOLIDARNOSC organisation) has knowledge about more than 1200 different underground journals published all over the country, even in villages.

The most active members of underground SOLIDARNOSC are workers, first of all workers from big factories in main industrial centres, college students and intellectuals. In general, the workers are not interested now in short, small strikes. Of course some strikes happen from time to time, but they are first of all of an economic character. The trend is to be prepared for the general strike in the future when circumstances are better.

There are two views of the aim of the general strike among top leaders of underground SOLIDARNOSC: First is the tendency to come to a national agreement (with the military junta under Jaruzelski, which would include the restoration of SOLIDARNOSC as a legal trade union without any important changes of the political system in Poland. This tendency does not have great support of the people, but some leaders — for instance W. Hardek from Krakow — supports it. It is a kind of reformist strategy, very doubtful in its results.

The second trend — the stronger one — also in the leadership of SOLIDARNOSC, for instance in Wroclaw, Masurian region and also in Nowa Huta, is to overthrow the political system using revolutionary means and perspectives.

Now the greatest chances have probably people standing for the social revolutionary party in the Russian-social democratic tradition, using revolutionary methods to reach political power in future. Nationalistic-clerical forces may also have a great influence in future.

And now listen to our views about the situation. First of all we need to say that the whole leftist and libertarian tradition has been destroyed by the communists. So we are to support those libertarian tendencies existing inside SOLIDARNOSC; today the social revolutionary trend and tomorrow after it's (SOLIDARNOSC's) possible split the trends are close to anarchism and anarcho-sindicalism. These positions are for instance the aim for worker's autonomy, workers control and the very popular idea of a self-governed society. Reactionaries want to get total control of these tendencies and consequently our aim is to support libertarian elements and to attack clerical nationalists. In the case of a general conflict, for instance, a general strike, our place will be of course within SOLIDARNOSC.

We shall spread libertarian ideas by publications and we will try to win more followers of anarchism among students, workers and intellectuals. This year we shall try to solve technical and distributing problems of publishing. First of all we are going to buy a printing machine which makes us independent of SOLIDARNOSC and private printers. Contacts with such people (mainly with private printers) are always a source of great danger. Of course we have some problems with paper, printing ink and other printing equipment. We hope we shall solve all these problems. The other main problem is distribution. We try to gain different networks. First SOLIDARNOSC-network, in a longer perspective to build up our own. Our plans include a series of pamphlets. In the first period translations of basic western and Russian anarchist texts and also our own interpretations. For instance these are translations of Nicolas Walter 'About Anarchism', Murray Bookchin 'Listen Marxist!', some short texts by Piotr Kropotkin, an anthology of Polish anarchist poems, some old Polish libertarian texts by (Edward) Abramowski and (Josef) Zielinski and of course some satirical pieces dealing with today's situation. We shall also produce leaflets on different occasions for instance May 1. In a longer perspective we will try to publish a journal either monthly or quarterly as a platform for libertarian ideas.

And last but not least, we would like to express our great, great gratitude to all comrades from libertarian movements in the west — especially from Italy, Netherlands, United States and other countries — (Polish words:) thank you very much! Your help and practical solidarity is very important to us. We shall never forget it.

To pursue our libertarian ends we have come together to understand each other, to exchange information about the situation on both sides.

Your help is one of the first blows against the wall of etatism (state-system) dividing us. Together we shall smash it!

Warszawa, 16 June, 1983.

ANARCHISM IN GREECE

Despite several good contacts and a fairly good grasp of the language it is still difficult to draw a coherent picture of anarchism in Greece. One of the first problems you come up against is the social system over there. Though geographically European, a large Asian influence prevails, especially in the villages. In effect Greece is at the crossroads, between European style capitalism and Asian style feudalism (excuse this bit, it's very generalised but it's easier to explain). What is more, after many years of military dictatorship followed by conservative rule Greece is only just catching up with the rest of Europe. Hence you find large sections of the youth smoking dope, listening to 60's rock music, wearing faded jeans and the males have long hair. What is anachronism in North Western Europe is hip in Greece. However this shouldn't obscure the fact that sexism, nationalism etc. are still very widespread. What follows is simply a sketch of what is happening at the moment, I make no claims to its comprehensiveness.



ANAPXIA!

ANARCHIST HISTORY

Several academics will talk about anarchism in Greece and talk about obscure philosophers that lived thousands of years ago. However anarchism first appeared here around the middle of the nineteenth century. By the end of the nineteenth century several anarchist groups were active in the country, in some towns the anarchists were parts (often the majority) of wider socialist groups, in others (especially in Patras, Pyrgos etc.) there were distinctly anarchist groups.

Due to the spread of anarchist ideals and the awful conditions there were several peasant uprisings which were often turned into massacres by the army. In April 1896 the Athenian anarchists and anarcho-syndicalists organised a wildcat and occupation of the mines in Lavrion. This revolt was put down with much bloodshed.

In August 1916 the workers of the island of Serifos revolted. The anarcho-syndicalists were on hand to help, the workers disarmed the police and began a programme of self-management. The state sent in the army to put down the revolt with much bloodshed, again.

The Bolshevik coup, the greatest misfortune to befall the workers movement, did much to dissipate the anarchist movement. The Greek Communist Party (KKE) began to take control of the unions. A familiar process the world over. By the 1920's anarchists were small in number and becoming isolated from the workers movement firmly in the Stalinist grip.

The combined forces of the Nazi occupation and Stalinist death squads eliminated the last of the anarchists. By the end of the second world war organised anarchism was dead in Greece. (Thanks to the A Gallery Group Athens for *A Brief History of Anarchism in Greece*).

REBIRTH - OF SORTS

The military coup finally revealed the utter bankruptcy of the pro-Moscow KKE. For example in the fascist concentration camps the KKE sabotaged the prisoners movement unless they could control it. Many disillusioned communists began a search for new ideas, it was soon apparent that there were three main strands of leftist thought, the straight KKE, the KKE of the Interior (a Euro-communist split from the main KKE) and the chaotiki. It was from the chaotics, derided by the Stalinists and Euro-Stalinists alike, that many turned to a more libertarian outlook. However its difficult to tell how many of these chaotics came to anarchism, many remained Marxists of the 'New Left' variety.

After the coup many fled to the rest of Europe. Where they came into contact with radical ideas. Italy and Germany soon has radical groups of Greek exiles. In the opposition anarchist ideas began to gain support. Anarchists played an active role in toppling the regime of the Colonels. However as usual the communists took all the credit and the anarchists consigned to a forgotten role.

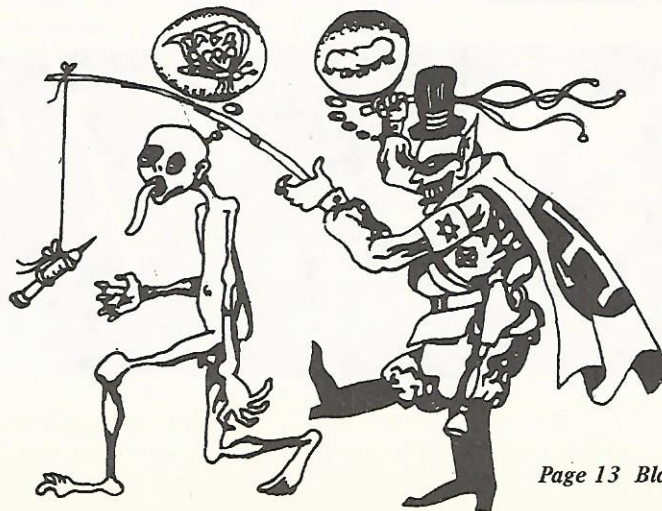
Anarchist ideas were spreading, especially among the youth. But a major problem is one we all face, pseudos. In Greece anyone who takes drugs and grows their hair long calls him/herself an anarchist (British punks anyone?).

DRUGS

Drugs are now a major industry in Greece, particularly Athens and Salonika. Smack (heroin) is now the dominant drug, easily available and fairly cheap. The police are the major source of drugs, and this is the focus of anarchist anti-smack activity. The chant of 'the police sell the heroin' is a common one of anarchist demos and posters. The glamour of drugs remains a problem, its part of the 'scene'. For the police it serves a valuable function, it makes money, renders the opposition helpless and is a good pretext for raids.

The anarchists/autonomists are trying to turn the problem into an openly political one (which it is). The prisons are full of addicts who are organising, becoming political. Addicts have been 'suicided' regularly, beaten up, etc. Hunger strikes leaflets are daily responses from the addicts and prisoners. For many in prison on drugs charges they have become openly anarchist and are analysing their position in society.

continued next page....



SEXUALITY

In a country where the woman's role remains firmly in the home any woman's movement has a lot to fight against. That a women's movement exists at all is progress. A large loosely organised movement does exist, and anarchy-feminists are active. In the cities things aren't as bad as the villages. In the villages women are less than second class citizens.

Politically active gay men and women are also new to Greece, but very active and vociferous. Effeminate men are at risk of violent attack, and in the last few years there have been some particularly bloody murders in Greece. In one case the murderer walked free from Court, after claiming a slight on his machismo was enough provocation.

Several gay anarchist magazines have been published. Krazimo published in Athens has been attacked by the Socialist Govt. It remains to be seen whether it will publish again. The radical wing of the gay movement is openly anarchist.

ARMY

The Army has always been involved in politics, and the dictatorship of the Colonels was only an overt manifestation of this. Certain sections of the army have ambitions for power again. Coup rumours are fairly regular. Two months ago in May June there were mass demonstrations right across Greece in response to a widely known coup rumour.

Conscription is a sad fact of life. On many occasions comrades have written to tell me that they've been declared insane in order to avoid it. Not everyone can get away with it. Because of this many politicised soldiers have formed underground anti-militarist groups and soldiers councils. On occasions uniformed conscripts have (masked) organised marches and meetings to denounce the Army and militarists. The State has been thrown into a panic about this. The secret police have tried to stamp out these soldiers committees, in vain! They were recently accused of the assassination of a right-wing newspaper editor, but this sounds like a load of crap. In a revolutionary situation the conscripts councils could serve as the basis for militias and soviets. The anarchists are active in this area and a number of anarchist conscripts have published a magazine and groups across the country have written leaflets for distribution to the civilian population. The murder of soldiers is common, a sign of the unease the State feels.



Masked soldiers march in protest against rumours of right-wing coups



This concert was held in Athens late last year in solidarity with the prisoners, who, 16 months after the change in government were still living in the same inhuman conditions in the modern Dachau of the Greek state called prisons.

The concert which was organised by the 'Committee in Support of Prisoners' (formed by anarchists and autonomous) was attended by over 8,000. "Since the election, the new government has successfully carried out the tactics of the previous one, sending many of our anarchist comrades to prison — many of whom are still rotting there. Although the case of the prisoners may have ended for the state, for us it can only come to an end with their final release, with the destruction of the prisons and of the society that created them, which is alone responsible for the existence of crime.

ORGANISATION WHAT ORGANISATION?

Anarchists are active in all spheres of life, work, squatting, anti-militarism, feminism etc. There are probably 1,000s of people who call themselves Anarchists in Athens alone. For their numbers they are significantly ineffective. There is no organisation, no co-operation, no effective movement of any sort.

Imbued with a kind of 60's hippy haze content with an informal, ineffective current of thought. In this loose atmosphere, people get pissed off doing nothing get pissed off with the oppressive social norm. The end result: impetuous actions. Fired by ideals many people have engaged in bomb attacks, bank robberies with disastrous results. Basilikki Lebas was sentenced to over 6 years prison for fire-bombing a police station. Th. Melitas was sentenced to life and 21 years for armed

robbery. G. Thaskaloboulos also got life and 21 years for armed robbery. These are typical sentences.

In many cases a lack of organisation has meant comrades gone to jail for long stretches without any solidarity. Sometimes comrades do get together, form a defence group but beyond that little else is organised. A few years ago an Anarcho-syndicalist group existed in Athens, but that has since been disbanded.

Local groups do exist, isolated from each other with little help at the level of co-operation. This is the main stumbling block which allows sectarianism to flourish. Its no surprise that some people are content with the current state of affairs.

Attempts to form an Anarchist Federation of Greece are continuing. But it is doubtful whether this will be successful. From a distance I would suggest something less ambitious. Local federations would be easier to organise and perhaps more useful at present. A federation for Athens Salonika, Crete etc. could be a way forward from the mess which allows the State to attack comrades one at a time.

Source: P.P.

GERMANY

THE ANARCHISTS WIN ONE!

A career as an anarchist gets a bit depressing sometimes, what with the State managing to paper over its cracks so deftly, and the magnificent technology in the hands of its police. The ability of the cops to mass hundreds of robots in a few minutes, while the fearless anti-imperialist fighters still get around on the underground etc. has led to a worryingly long series of pig victories in the last year, with them not losing control of the streets for any length of time since the visit of Prez. Reagan last June. But the first of June this year was a beauty.

The pattern in the last year in Berlin has been one of continuous advances by this superbly well organised fascist state. Perhaps 120 houses were still occupied at the beginning of 1982; now about 85 remain. This is a lot more than it sounds by London terms, because each of the houses is five stories high, with maybe 60-80 rooms and people. More a block of flats really. Some of them all cook together in one big room kitchen, some of the houses have a kitchen on each floor.

Two things were happening simultaneously. While the cops were getting very good at breaking up the demonstrations against evictions, or massing their numbers fast enough to prevent any effective destruction (of banks, shops etc) at the end of a demo, the politicians had effectively cracked the united front of the squatter movement by offering some of the houses short-term contracts while threatening to evict those that refused to negotiate. And as negotiation involved a re-introduction of the rent principle (even at a nominal level) people were split on whether to accept the offered contracts. They remembered only too well that there were only any occupied houses at all because of the two years fighting against State control and it seemed that the only way to keep them was by continuing that fight. After all, the State in this country is not particularly famous for being nice once it has the upper hand, so what guarantees can there be of renewal of contracts in a few years, or against rent increases etc. that just put the houses back into the frame of reference of the everyday nightmare. What would Bakunin have said?

And even if the negotiation path held some attractions, it was hard to approach them with a baton over your head wielded by a grinning, victorious cop...The debate continued, the slow evictions continued, the demonstrations continued but grew steadily more smaller, almost desultory.

Posters went up around Kreuzberg, (which is a suburb of Berlin, jammed up against the Wall separating 'East' & 'West',



which is the heart of the squatting movement) 'Wenn ein raumang in K36 ist, Kampf, freund....When there's an eviction in K36 Fight Friend. If we can't then we never will.

June the First there was an eviction of a house in the other half of Kreuzberg, K61. A hundred people suddenly made homeless. No particular reason; some church had been negotiating with the owner to buy it on behalf of the squatters, these negotiations had broken down and the cops felt confident. . . the windows were bricked up. . .

Lots of people stood and watched. Lots of cops sat in their vans and grinned. It looked like another night of solitary or small group actions; graffiti, glue in locks, bank windows shattered at 3am...The week before two furniture shops had mysteriously exploded...All relying on speed rather than steady power-through-numbers.

People waited in the darkness...The cops felt too confident. Certain that they had the movement on the ropes because there was no demonstration against the eviction, they went into Kreuzberg. 200 riot cops surrounded the big squat K36, next to the wall, blocking off a couple of streets... They announced that eviction etc. A few hundred people gathered at the police line, 2 vans drove through the crowd, stopped, 20 cops with riot shields get out, stand by the vans for 30 seconds, walk towards the crowd, suddenly run the last 10 metres and grab one guy who was sitting on a bicycle. A scuffle, batons fly, a hail of stones and bottle fly back for about a minute. The cops go back to their vans, with the arrested guy, perhaps he'd shouted out something that was against the cherished German Constitution. Everyone split, it had started, and boy! did those cops ever feel confident...Its dangerous to stand around at the place where someone else has just thrown a stone, its an act of resistance against the German Const. under the German Law...The cops wanted us all off the streets...

And then, for once, for a change, we all got the feeling that the demo was starting rather than ending. The number of people on the streets began to increase rather than diminish, the community began to defend itself against the army of occupation. You began to walk around corners to find the building-site workers caravans lying on the side, and even though a line of pig vans would arrive in a few minutes and sometimes succeeded in righting it again, it would go over again in a few minutes after they left....The footpaths in Berlin are paved with 2" cubes of granite, every street began to fill with stones as these were dug up...

To describe/understand what happened how the citizens of Kreuzberg then defended their community in the next few hours I must describe the battlefield....The cops have tried, through random arrests and violence, to frighten the population into staying off the streets at such times. But they have organised such a totally boring and stultifying society, in which there are so few chances to feel like a human being, and they have been so relentlessly destructive of our desire to live together in tribal groups rather than isolated apartments, no matter how luxurious, that they leave us no alternative. And they have made it impossible to gather in groups of more than ten at hot times; their technology & organisation means that they can capture any fixed point that demonstrators try to defend, but they cannot (yet) arrest everybody who walks the streets just on suspicion that they look like a demonstrator or punk or social critic. . . So what happened was that people all kept moving, seeing each others faces (glimpsed glances, half remembered from previous battles and retreats), slowly realising that more and more people were there and that no-one was leaving yet ...throwing something on the road or at the cop lines, while hundreds of their vans cruised up and down, up and down...at first with their back doors open, trying to spot individuals from the black-clad flux

moving up and down the footpaths, then after an hour of not being able to find any individual in an arrestable position, and being subjected to more and more individual attacks, cruising with their doors shut. Until you reach the point, maybe 2 hours after the initial hail of stones where they do not dare to stop and get out of their vans at any point in the neighbourhood. And that's a victory, even if it only lasts a few hours...

There are two different types of riot; those that know that the cops will eventually establish control over the contested area, and that therefore aim to cause the maximum impact in a short period of time so that the authorities gain control only over a smoking battlefield, and it takes a long time for them to re-create the impression that nothing ever happened...and there are then those riots that feel that the area that they capture is a permanent gain, and that therefore only graduate the destruction, only increase it in small but steady steps, so as to force the hierarchical society to withdraw to some point of the area that they have occupied. Its a microcosm of the central dilemma of trying to disturb the facade of society so as to create a condition of *greater* harmony, of destroying in order to stop the destruction, of fighting for peace. If you view the average anarchist action from a historical perspective that is three minutes wide, it consists of fairly irrelevant chaos. But.... etc.etc...Or like the RAF, running off at such a pace that the average citizen (working class) couldn't hope to follow.

And this demo on the first of June had the second quality, it didn't zoom immediately to a confrontation with the cops and an occupation of some particular street corner, so that the hierarchical society had a fixed point against which to use its technology and numbers (helicopters etc.)...Rather it located itself firmly in the time in which a demo is increasing, rather than in the time after a demo when everyone is thinking of going to drink beer instead. It consisted more of actions that would make it more difficult for example, for police to drive their vans down the street. It was a flux, a slow moving network of faces, which had no fixed centre or hard-core of 'fighters', a black area of several blocks in length and width inside which the only fixed points were the police uniforms, and to which the only possible solution was the withdrawal of the cops. Everyone knew and everyone participated in what was going on, no individual heroics were needed in an area which, as soon as a police van wasn't on the same block, any individual starting to rearrange truck trailers or caravans immediately and spontaneously got a hundred helping hands.

Within twenty minutes of reaching the point that everyone knew would soon be reached, the point of the cops sitting frightened in their vans, with stones and



bottles coming out of the darkness in any direction, AND THEM NOT DARING TO STOP AND GET OUT OF THEIR VANS, they pulled out of Turm, the squat they had planned to evict. They knew that they couldn't maintain any semblance of Law & Order from that point on.

They will come again; they have nothing else to do. But when they do...We didn't wreck our neighbourhood, we just moved a few bits of it around. But we moved so many bits of it around simultaneously that we short-circuited the great fascist machine. A valuable moment, a valuable set of lessons. It even appeared on television news all over the old Federal Republic. Great! If we had made a peaceful statement, a press release etc., nothing would have been heard.

They force us to these lengths by trying to kick us out of houses that we repaired and rebuilt from a pile of bird-shit encrusted wrecks, and they plan to just brick these houses up because we're threatening to the rent-principle. And they fill the TV, (the public mind) with rubbish designed to obscure thought, and then tell us to stay tuned for rational debate, stay within the channels of rational debate.

They split our heads open when they feel like it, and then accuse us of violence if we strike back or defend ourselves...All this is too obvious to be said again...

STOP PRESS: Further struggles between Law and cynics....The following Wednesday, June 8th, some barricades were constructed with the deliberate aim of drawing the police onto unfavourable terrain and continue the unfinished business of the previous Wednesday. Many disagreed with this action, thinking it better to save the energy of the movement for response to police attacks, while those in favour argued we should cash in on the high spirits created by the previous victory, and that as with physical fitness, the more energy we spend, the more becomes available. The result was that less people were on the street that night, but they were much better prepared, with pre-positioned old cars and petrol etc. with which to make barricades. A hot few hours followed, but not with the authorities "losing control".

MORE LATE NEWS

This one even hit the Guardian. On June

18th a huge demo of 15,000 against the visit to Berlin of a Fascist group (220 odd) from West Germany ended up in the same street as the previous two battles, Adalbert Strasse, and exploded. The cops were hanging back, not wanting to tangle with so many, and at the end of the demo when a Turkish man trying to hang a banner on the railway bridge was arrested they - the cops - suddenly got attacked and initially quite heavily beaten. A bank was attacked but we didn't manage to burn it, and the fighting continued for 12 hours. In a way, the energy built up in the squatting movement was spent on the wider anti-fascist 'struggle', this is Germany after all. It got wide coverage from an almost approving press, especially the pro-Israel *International Herald Tribune*. But it was good to see fat little policemen run for their lives for a while.

A busy month. The following Saturday, all international terrorists travelled to Krefeld, which had been targetted by the Americans for a huge televised spectacular in the name of German-American friendship. It seemed that a few Germans aren't too keen on the idea, and sallied forth in well-organised groups to stage a disruptive riot at the relevant time and place. And under the rules of this corrupt society they succeeded in that they ensured that the headlines said 'Riot'!! A healthy society wouldn't have headlines or Bushes or such spectacles or such riots, since we have the first three we'd better ensure that we have the fourth. And so it goes in this tortured land, a hard bitter politics shorn of love or creativity, of dialogue or manoeuvre, in which the world's best equipped State runs around at American behest trying to counter the insurgents and the punks. Looks like a very hot summer. If you come to Berlin, wear black and don't forget the black scarf... It's easier to demonstrate in Poland than in the outpost of democracy these days. There are 20 police vans parked in my neighbourhood tonight; how about yours?

JULY 2nd, after a month of clever little ads in the national left dailies ameeeting took place in Hannover that must have sent a shiver up a few spines. Under the heading **PUNKS&SKINS TOGETHER AGAINST THE STATE**, a strategy for the future etc. 5000 youths gathered for a weekend of good times and anti-police rioting. Barricades were built in the main street, 40 cops were injured and 93 arrests made. Some fighting also occurred against some 'fascho-skins' stupid enough to try and hold a counter-rally, the fascho skins were utterly routed and attention returned to the police.

Interesting country this. Julius Caesar said that the Germans all wear leather and live in groups. Not much has changed, except for the addition of Johnny Rotten.

An Innocent Bystander

THE DEATH WISH OF THE LABOUR PARTY

Just at the very time when English capitalism is breaking down, and the Tory Conservative Party has reverted to open class-war, the Labour Party has collapsed.

It is not just a question of electoral defeat. The main parties balance pretty much in the number of votes they can obtain, and any third parliamentary force takes votes off one or the other according to its degree of unpopularity, largely controlled by the media *advice*. Parties now *lose* elections rather than win them.

But over and above its electoral defeat, the Labour Party, which was once a great force, is now totally disintegrated. One has only to go and see the local branches. Some, even in constituencies where a huge working class vote can ensure a Labour victory, do not measure up to the numbers of an inactive anarchist local group. It is easy for the Tapeworm Tendency, which usurps the name of *Militant*, to penetrate - sometimes to overwhelm - such groups, and find themselves in the heady position of being able to choose *their own* Labour MPs to act as traitors in place of the *bureaucratically, undemocratically* chosen, long-in-the-saddle Labour MPs.

The Tapeworm Trots have finally succeeded in carrying out Lenin's dictum - to support the Labour Party *like the rope supports the hanged man* - even if they are a bit off fulfilling Trotsky's sixty-year-old prophecy that within a short time Nelson's statue in Trafalgar Square would be replaced by those of Marx and Lenin!

What has killed off Labour Party support is the acceptance of the belief that Trotskyism was a *left wing* tendency when (as we showed in Black Flag before) it is clearly *right-wing*. Everything the Trots put forward is of a rightist nature - and put

forward better by rightists. They are still putting forward the *remedy* of nationalisation; still quoting the Marxist dogmas which have driven the working class away from socialism; still crying about witch-hunts when the party wants to throw them out and demanding *radical changes* when they want to do the same!

The Trotskyist influx has helped to push out many entrenched Labour Party reformists - not necessarily to the right of the Trots, some to their left, but most coming from one set of established figures by another set trying to become established. Hence the Social-democrats have broken away to form a party united only in one thing, dislike for the present Labour Party and a realisation that only an Alliance with the Liberals presents any future at all. They are actually more right wing than the Liberals but as they follow the dictum that the right wing of the Labour Party and the left wing of the Liberal Party could meet in a Centre Party, they try to force the prophecy through.

The Labour Party is not only torn between Trotskyist infiltrators and SDP defectors. It has other divisions within it, as the contest for the Leadership shows.

Large numbers of Labour voters follow the *moderates* - as instructed by the Media, which has elevated *moderation* as the greatest of virtues for the Labour Party, though all it means is being as like the Tories as possible. But Labour Party

members don't want that. If they did they would and could join the Conservative Party. They want a *left* policy, whatever the voters want. But then what *is* a left policy in this context?



TONY BENN & NO. 10

For years the left wing of the Labour Party has looked to Marxism to provide its inspiration. Once this came directly from the Communist Party. Time and time again the Moscow-liners threw out policy lines that came from the rightwing. (in 1945, the year of the massive Labour victory, they were advocating that Churchill should be Prime Minister of a Labour

Government!). Since the Hungarian episode that has changed and the policy lines for Labour's Left have been thrown out by the Trots. Since the Trotskyist comparative success - and once more their policies are rightist - the Labour Left looks to some other direction. It has forgotten about socialism. Whatever that meant, and it notoriously meant different things to different people, it now has no meaning. Anything is *socialist* it is used as an opposite to *imperialist*, Gaddafi, Lebanese Moslems, the IRA can all be *socialist* in their book. Ken Livingstone has declared that for him the IRA is a fellow Socialist Party - indeed, he may well be right that all the IRA, apart from its involvement in terrorism has to offer - after achieving the dream of an all Irish republic including the six counties, is an outlawing of Protestant terrorism and a Labour Party manifesto for the New Republic which manifestly would want it as little as it does the present one. Hardly worth tearing apart the country for? (so think most Irish people?)

The Greater London Council is the first to come under attack by Mrs Thatcher in her campaign to cut out the other layers of government as competitive to central government. The answer of the Labour Councillors, threatened with returning to the ranks of ordinary people, is to launch a series of political initiatives out of the libertarian ragbag, as well as the authoritarian ragbag, in hope of presenting a credible programme. It is out of this jumble sale of discarded ideas that the GLC and Borough Councils pick out the innovations that so upset the voters, as part of their prolonged death agony.

The GLC offers grants and subsidies to cooperatives and fancy arts institutes - which does not stimulate them but deadens them. In the Yorkshire valleys Boroughs call themselves *workers republics*, in other places they are *nuclear free zones*, elsewhere they are *socialist collectives*, and everyone knows all this is humbug, that none of it exists, that it is all play acting and nothing is real but the rates which they go on demanding. It is this wing of the Labour Party which shows the party in its death agony. Once it was based solidly on the working class which used it as a political expression by which they could achieve socialism. Now they have cut themselves off from the workers, they esteem ideals which the workers do not, and while they do not know what socialism is they declare in proud desperation that they have achieved a nuclear free workers republic just around the corner from the high street.

continued next page....

ITALY

CARRARA —

There is a long tradition of anarchism in Carrara. Compared to many other places, coming across Carrara today is almost like catching a brief glimpse of what an anarchist utopia is really like in practice. It is only a small town, nestling rather uneasily between the mediterranean on the north-west coast of Italy and the mountains that sweep up from the spine of Italy towards the south-western edge of the Alps. But it is the marble industry, dating back centuries, that has put Carrara on the map. In the old town there are four anarchist centres, remarkable for such a small place, all highly visible. The most visible is the FAI (Italian Anarchist Federation) office which is based in a rather imposing building — the main building — in the town square. The FAI banner hangs permanently and gloriously outside and it is the first thing you notice when arriving in Carrara and getting out of the bus. There are two anarchist cultural centres in the town and a major anarchist print shop. There is even an official plaque in one square to the memory of Francisco Ferrer, the libertarian social revolutionary, murdered by the forces of reaction in Spain. In Carrara the anarchist tradition has shown itself over the centuries in the form of popular resistance to authority. In the local archives there are records of anarchist resistance during the last century when local libertarians fought off the carabinieri. More recently Carrara has become a centre for international congresses and it was in Carrara that over a decade ago the Anarchist Black Cross revival was first discussed amongst representatives of the international anarchist community.

Recently two of our collective visited Carrara, and despite short notice, were shown that anarchist hospitality was really about. Although the stay was only a short one, it was a full one, meeting local anarchists, and gradually realising that for many people in the town anarchism was the norm, not the exception. Most people were poor and lived a semi-collectivised existence.



On the last day of the visit, an old friend of the Black Cross, Goliardo Fiaschi, was met. Goliardo, despite having served twenty years in one of Franco's jails for his part in the guerrilla resistance, looked well, youthful, and has more life than many younger anarchists do these days. He now helps to look after the Circolo Anarchica Culturale (which doubles as a bookshop/documentation centre and meeting place).

Salud to the hospitality of the Carraran anarchists. We hope that one day, there will be many more towns like Carrara around the world.



Continued from page 17

Anarchism, as it really is and not as it's presented by the caricaturists, presents an irresistible attraction to the section of the working class understanding socialism, and not finally alienated by the socialists. The only objection they have is that it is impossible. The time has come to demand the impossible.

The immediate struggle is in the Borough Councils. If they are to go, what is to follow? Anarchism does not exist in the negative only. It is a falsification of anarchism to say that it consists of not voting as if failing to do something every five years was in any way a step forward. The Councils, whatever their politics, have the control of a series of highly useful major

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services - transport, education, housing, hospitalisation. These must not be surrendered to the State or given back to private ownership where it existed. Who is to run them? Real community councils need to be established between those who run the services by their work and those whom they service. This is/was the original idea of co-operative socialism, the basics of socialism, not the business chain of retail shops nor the offbeat workshop grant-aided. It is something that can be achieved here and now. It does not have to wait until the fall of capitalism, though it can help dig its grave. The industries concerned constitute a formidable chunk of the current economy. They can finance themselves. They do not need to take forced toll of the community - a red herring in

which municipal politics has played about with for nearly a hundred years. It is only impossible because there is an established force against it - the Government (but that is weakening the local Borough government anyway), the political interests (the hell with them), the feeling of protection for high ranking municipal jobs (they can still get compensation)..

Many long time labour activists are now looking for an outlet for their energies. They have introduced many worth while reforms - in transport, housing, hospitals. Municipal anarchy is what they have always been warned against. Examine it, and it will not be found to be so terrible. For the people it will be highly desirable.

A.M.

Free Us All!

Free the Five Billion

Some know them as the Vancouver Five, the Squamish Five or, more often, just the Five. They were arrested by a combat-ready SWAT team on a remote stretch of highway near Squamish, British Columbia, Canada on Jan. 20, 1983, and charged with a series of political bombings across Canada during the preceeding year. The bombings included a controversial power station in B.C., a factory in Toronto making parts for the Cruise missile and three rape film emporiums in the Vancouver area.

"1984 has been here for a long time already. The thought-police are out to get us, so that words like 'militant,' 'resistance,' 'attack,' 'revolution,' 'feminist,' 'ecology,' 'struggle,' etc. will no longer exist in the human vocabulary."

— Ann Hansen

Since their arrests, the Five have played a central role in one of the most crucial political dramas of the time. They didn't ask for the part; it was foisted on them. The result is that they are in the fight of their lives.

Their fight will affect the entire anti-authoritarian/autonomous movement. The massive, high-technology surveillance, the police destabilization and harassment campaign, the move by authorities to "criminalize" and depoliticize them, the unleashing of the media — all tactics aimed at a community that is decentralized, and therefore resistant to traditional infiltration and co-opting techniques.

If the authorities are successful in railroading the Five, then police, judicial officials and the news media will consider it open season to employ these tactics on a larger and more intrusive scale.

Already, the circle of surveillance and dirty tricks is widening — to the women's community, the anti-war and anti-nuke

movements and beyond. And the federal government has now introduced legislation to establish a Canadian Security Intelligence Service with powers of surveillance even less restricted than those of the FBI and the CIA. The case of the Five was cited in the House of Commons by a cabinet minister as a justification for Big Brother even though legislation was being prepared long before any of the bombings took place.

Julie Belmas, Gerry Hannah, Ann Hansen, Doug Stewart and Brent Taylor are well known to us, and respected by us. They have long been active in grass roots work on environmental, native sovereignty and anti-war and anti-nuke issues.

After pleading not guilty, they are sitting in prison, denied bail, awaiting the first of a series of four political show trials set for Sept. 12 and scheduled to take up to six months. The authorities have no

substantive witnesses against them, but will submit a mountain of roombug tapes and transcripts in an effort to prove the

"As far as we're concerned, this case isn't about anarchy, or civil rights, or methods of struggle. It's just part of the struggle, and the important thing is to maintain the primacy of the struggle to protect the earth and strive for liberation."

— Brent Taylor

Five belonged to an "anarchist-terrorist cell" called variously Direct Action and the Wimmin's Fire Brigade.

The nature of the "evidence" requires thorough and painstaking preparation for defence, but this is impossible under the isolating conditions in lock-up. Massive legal costs compound the difficulties.

The case of the five has thrown into sharp relief the need for a coherent and unified movement to defend anti-authoritarian activists under attack, no matter what differences might exist over tactical considerations. This "extra" edition of *Open Road* (as well as last spring's Direct Action issue, and the upcoming "1984" issue) are dedicated to helping build that consensus.

We urge our readers, and all individuals and groups concerned with protecting the right to be politically active in 1984 and beyond, to assist in the defense of the Five, either by donations of money, or with energy and educational work. Not to the exclusion of your own concrete work, but in resonance with it.

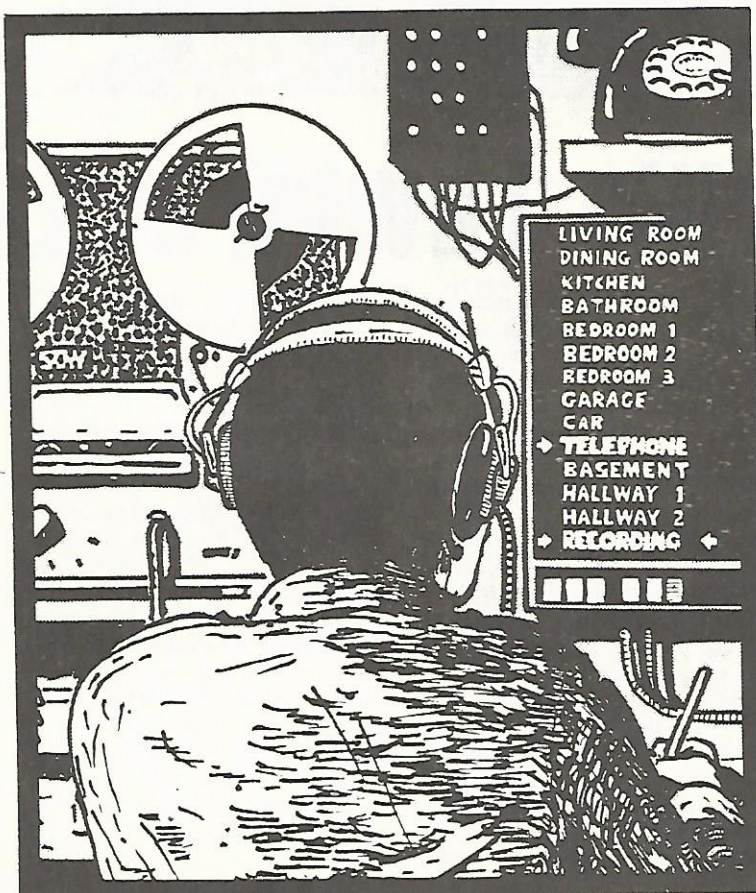
"For centuries, the authorities have reacted violently to women who resisted; they used to brand us 'witches' and burned us. Now they label us 'terrorist' and try to bury us in their cement tombs."

— Julie Belmas

Shortly after the arrests, the cry went up to Free the Five! As the connections between the case and the wider struggle started to manifest themselves, friends and support came to realize we are in reality defending ourselves and everyone else when we defend the Five. That's when a new slogan (at first, meant half in jest) started to take root:

FREE THE FIVE BILLION — FREE US ALL!

Open Road



Fire Power

Bondage, manacles, foam balls that keep the screams down, chains that go around the breasts, pliers that pinch the nipples; rape, oral and anal rape, rape of children, ejaculation in women's faces: violent pornography sold in Vancouver has nothing to do with sexuality or the erotic. It is, first of all, a highly successful capitalist enterprise which has created a lucrative market by exploiting the fears and the repressed sexuality of a class of consumers.

The Nov. 22, 1982 firebombing of three Red Hot Video stores was a successful and unifying action because of the thousands of hours of community work which preceded it. The protest movement in Vancouver had moved beyond the initial arguments about the social effects of pornography, or whether taking a stand against pornography implied a rigid sexuality.

After a great deal of debate and discussion, the community developed a broader and more complex understanding which is able to differentiate between rape films which exploit — for profit — the frustrations of a people robbed of sexual health, and erotica which expresses an open and humane sexuality.

The Red Hot Video protest developed many fronts — education, petitions, pickets — which broadened as frustration grew. As the Wimmin's Fire Brigade communique stated: "All lawful attempts to shut them down failed because the justice system was created, and is controlled, by rich men to protect their profits and their

property."

Direct action was the logical development. By the fall of 1982, Red Hot was being inundated by unordered meals and taxis, spray-painted messages and neon signs disappearing in the night. In mid-October, one store was hit with a molotov that failed to go off. So when the WFB firebombed three of the 13 franchises, the support was loud and strong.

The firebombings resulted in the immediate and permanent closure of one of the stores. Another store closed for fear of getting hit, two others moved to different communities and two more changed their names. The timing of the WFB action was such that the public campaign itself caught fire, forcing the government to bring obscenity charges against Red Hot. A trial ended in conviction, a nominal fine and Red Hot's complaint that it was being crippled by legal fees.

Red Hot attempted to cloak its pandering in the rhetoric of freedom of expression, as if it's in the business of promoting civil liberties. In fact, it's a profit-oriented capitalist enterprise, like those other corporate menaces, Litton and B.C. Hydro. The fact that it markets media materials rather than Cruise missiles or electric power proved irrelevant, and wasn't enough to protect it.

Individual civil liberties — such as the right of the individual to be free of State censorship — were never threatened or challenged during the campaign, on the understanding that changes in individual attitudes are best accomplished through education and consciousness-raising.

Guerrilla Lawfare

Matthew Begbie, B.C.'s notorious hanging judge, has been dead nearly 90 years, but his bulky figure, preserved in stone, still presides over New Westminster courts. Under Begbie's dark glare, starting Sept. 12, the trials of the Five will be heard.

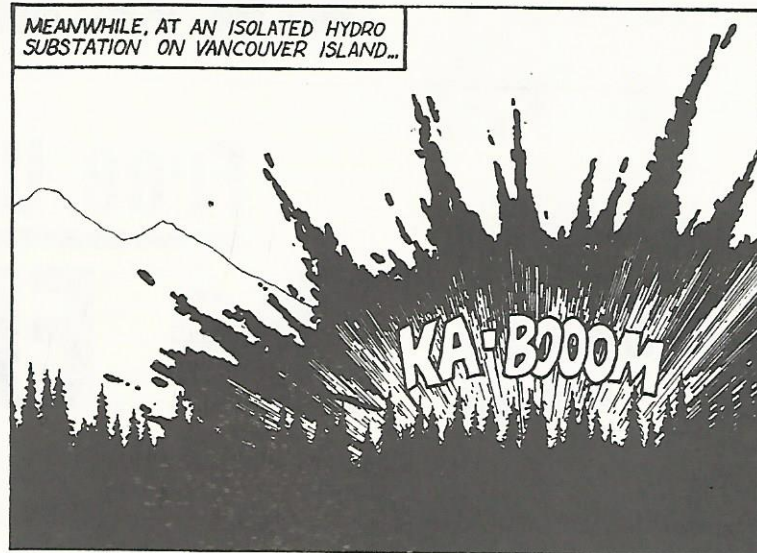
Never before has the statue been a more appropriate symbol, for the authorities have missed few tricks in their efforts to obstruct the defense of the Five.

None of the defendants has a record of serious crime or violent acts, but the juries they face will have been drawn from a public exposed to months of sensationalist and distorted news coverage which has regularly branded them as terrorists and anarchist bombers. From the day of their arrest, their right to a fair trial has been threatened.

But the most persistent infringement of

the legal rights of the Five has come from within the courtroom. Their right to bail has been flatly and repeatedly refused, despite their having deep roots in the community. Eight houses and tens of thousands of dollars in sureties were offered by friends to ensure their appearance for trial, but to no avail, even though rapists and others charged with offenses against people are routinely granted bail.

Remaining behind bars, the defense effort is severely crippled. All conversations by the Five with potential witnesses, all consultations with their legal aid lawyers, all strategy sessions are subject to eavesdropping by the authorities. With hundreds of hours of wiretap tapes and thousands of pages of transcripts and documents to be presented by the prosecution, there's no way that the painstaking and time-consuming work of interpretation and discussion of the evidence



Graphic by Media Punks

Direct Hits

Litton. Cheekye-Dunsmuir. To millions of North Americans the words spell Direct Action, the enigmatic signature on communiques that appeared after the explosions that made the places famous. But to activists in the peace and environmental movements, they have long been targets of hard fought campaigns to Protect the Earth.

The Cheekye-Dunsmuir power transmission line on Vancouver Island was to be a key component in the massive expansion of British Columbia's power system, an expansion that independent studies had proved unnecessary and harmful to the environment. Over the opposition of local

residents and environmentalists, B.C. Hydro plowed ahead. The response to public hearings and non-violent protests was stonewalling, physical attacks, arrests and repressive legislation. Until May 31, 1982, when hundreds of pounds of dynamite exploded in the core of the Dunsmuir power station, ripping apart the four reactors that were the heart of the station, and stalling the arrogant, short-sighted plan that would flood precious river valleys and make the island a haven for nuclear reactors.

On the other side of the country, a national controversy had been brewing since the federal government offered the U.S. Pentagon a military base in Alberta to test the Cruise missile. But before October 17, 1982, few outside Toronto knew that the city's Litton Systems plant manufactured, under federal subsidy, the guidance system for the Cruise. Despite a four-year campaign of sit-ins and leafletting, it was only after a van packed with dynamite destroyed part of the plant that Litton's role leapt into national prominence.

Although injuries to seven bystanders sparked remonstrances among the activist community, the civil disobedience campaign escalated, and hundreds of police were called in to drag 1500 protestors away from a Remembrance Day sit-in at the plant. Two weeks later, 15,000 demonstrators rallied in Ottawa under the banner "Refuse the Cruise". In late November, seventy-seven per cent of voters in 131 municipalities voted for prompt disarmament. The campaign found support in the least expected corners, as war veterans and scientists urged the government to scuttle the Cruise agreement. As the 80,000 peace marchers proved in Vancouver last April, the campaign is a people's movement in the best sense of the term.

can be effectively carried out.

On April 20, the prosecution delivered a stunning double attack on the defense: the Five would face a direct indictment, a rarely used tactic that denies the defense a preliminary hearing in which to evaluate the Crown's case; and the prosecution would split the charges into four separate trials to present evidence first on the less political robbery charges in an attempt to prejudice public opinion before the political charges came up.

The Crown has unlimited resources — tax dollars and police and technical expertise — to press their case. The Five's defense is partially subsidized by legal aid, but supporters are faced with the daunting task of raising tens of thousands of dollars for legal and technical assistance (for instance, to bring in experts on jury selection) just so they can get their day in court.

TRIAL BY MEDIA Video has been transferred to the 121 BOOKSHOP, 121 Railton Road, London SE24 Ph: 2

Free These Five!

GERRY HANNAH is described as a "real gentle guy," devoted to environmental issues. He played bass with the Subhumans, a Vancouver punk band that was very political but had a strong sense of humour. The Subhumans played benefits for native struggles support, Rock Against Radiation, and Rock Against Prisons.

JULIE BELMAS is a spirited bass player and artist from the Vancouver high school punk scene. She worked for two years as a health care worker with mentally handicapped children. She was also involved with a magazine calling for radical activism, and with El Salvador solidarity groups.

BRENT TAYLOR — is an activist with a lively sense of humor. With Doug, he helped organize the first Vancouver anti-nuke march four years ago. His work on environmental and prison issues has led him into a strong stand on behalf of native sovereignty, including participation in the Leonard Peltier defense campaign.

ANN HANSEN studied history and political science at university in Ontario and wrote for the *Toronto Clarion* and for *Bulldozer* (a prisoners' mag). She was a member of Women Against Prisons, but was denied prison-visiting rights after her belief that prisons should be abolished became known to authorities. Thoughtful and optimistic, people say it is impossible to be depressed around her.

DOUG STEWART worked with Pacific Life Community, a small pacifist group that began a campaign against the Trident nuclear submarine system. He was part of a co-operative which runs a progressive bookstore in Vancouver. "It's important for me to know that even if the state succeeds in fucking us over, that events will have a positive and strengthening effect on people" — Doug.



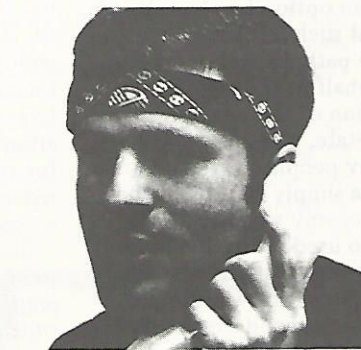
Ann Hansen



Doug Stewart



Brent Taylor



Gerry Hannah



Julie Belmas

Taking Liberties

Shades of the McCarthy era ... when Toronto cops raided the home of a group of activists involved in the Free the Five support campaign on June 13, they brought with them a dusted-off copy of a law that was last used in Canada in 1950, at the height of the so-called Red Scare. It's called seditious libel, and it means advocating governmental change by force.

The cops never explained what they thought was seditious, but their search warrant specified a number of items, including the anti-prison journal *Bulldozer* (available for a donation from Box 5052, Stn. A, Toronto, Ont.), the *Trial By Media* videotape about the railroading of the Five and any correspondence from the Five.

The public uproar over the ridiculousness of the allegation may have scared the police off from actually charging anyone with seditious libel for the mo-

ment, but that didn't stop them from arresting a woman occupant of the house on a charge of illegally procuring an abortion (possible sentence: life in prison) and then offering to drop the charge if she fingered any of the Litton bombers. Four other occupants were also charged with the old reliable possession of a couple of joints.

The blatant political use of police powers is becoming the norm in the case of the Five. Earlier in the year, Toronto police, under the guise of investigating the Litton bombing, staged a series of fishing expeditions in the files of pacifist anti-war groups. Police in Vancouver raided the homes of personal friends of the Five with no obvious goal except intimidation.

Despite the police harassment, supporters of the Five have succeeded in maintaining a high level of solidarity:

- Demonstrations in Vancouver, Toronto, Montreal and San Francisco (at the

Canadian consulate);

- Benefit gigs by D.O.A., Moral Lepers, Dead Kennedys and many other bands in most Canadian cities;

- Support groups in Vancouver, Calgary, Winnipeg, Toronto, Montreal, Hamilton, Ottawa, Seattle, San Francisco and London, England

- Public forums, using *Trial by Media* videotape, in major Canadian cities and in New York and Seattle.

- Statements of support and protests of police and media behavior from the B.C. Federation of Women, the Vancouver and District Labour Council, the Canadian Civil Liberties Association, the Cheeky-Dunsmuir Alliance and many others.

- Countless posters, spoofs, leaflets, buttons, postcards, T-shirts and graffiti from anti-authoritarian groups across the country.

Media Guide

- **Free The Five Newsletter:** available for a donation, from Box 48296, Bentall Station, Vancouver, B.C. V7X 1A1 Canada.
- **Open Road:** Direct Action issue (#15) and 1984 — Big Brother issue (#16, in preparation for Fall, 1983); \$1 from Box 6135, Station G, Vancouver, B.C., Canada.

- **Resistance:** Issues 4 & 5 (Direct Action and Wimmin's Fire Brigade communications) and Issue 6 (update on the Five); for a donation, from Box 790, Station A, Vancouver, B.C., Canada.

- **D.O.A.** benefit single, Fuck You (by Gerry Hannah) b/w Burn It Down!; \$3 plus 75 cents handling, from D.O.A., Box 65896, Station F, Vancouver, B.C. (Ask for info on bulk orders).

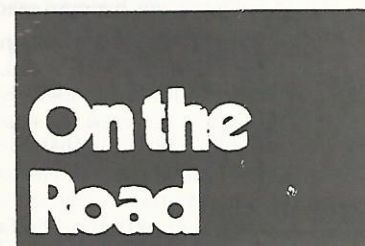
- **Trial By Media:** one hour videotape, suitable for showing at public forums on the Five; available from B.C. Journalists for Accuracy In Media, 1868 Franklin, Vancouver, B.C.

- **Civil Liberties Action Security Project:** info package on surveillance, police dirty tricks and other 1984 nightmares; for a donation from CLASP, Box 65369, Station F, Vancouver, B.C., Canada.

- **Indirect Action:** analysis of issues related to the case and the implications for the peace movement; for a donation from Box 6326, Station A, Toronto, Ontario M5W 1P7.

- **The Five:** write to them directly at Oakalla Prison, Drawer "O", Burnaby, B.C. V5H 3N4.

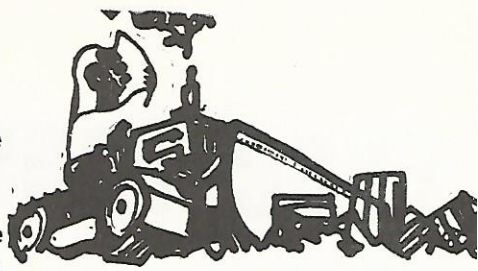
- **Bulldozer:** the prisoners' magazine that was seized in a recent raid (see Police story); for a donation from Box 5052, Station A, Toronto, Ontario M5W 1W4.



The next issue of Open Road is in preparation. The theme is 1984; the national security state, and ways to resist Big Brother. We need your ideas, your articles and your money ... before it's too late.

Open Road, Box 6135, Station G, Vancouver, B.C., Canada, V6R 4G5.

BULLDOZER STATEMENT



On Monday June 13th, 1983 the Metropolitan Toronto Police raided our house on Cambridge Avenue as part of the ongoing investigation into the bombing of the Litton Systems Plant outside the city last October. On one level, this is just one of a series of raids which have taken place in Toronto. Unfortunately, there are many indications that this is a definite escalation of the harassment that has been directed against members of the Left and activists within the Peace movement.

First off, the raid was directly linked to the fact that the local support work for the Five people arrested in Vancouver and charged with the Litton bombing amongst many other charges has been essentially centred in our house. Much of the initiative has come from the people living here, we are connected to them politically and personally. We have not tried to deny these links. We support them as friends. And we support them politically because we believe that it is imperative to support political people facing charges stemming from political activity regardless of the charges involved.

BULLDOZER

"THE ONLY VEHICLE
FOR PRISON REFORM"

More disturbingly though, the raid also seems to be a direct attack against *Bulldozer* (for those not familiar with *Bulldozer*, it is a magazine written by and for political prisoners, with production and distribution being done by some of the people living here). We were in the midst of production for issue 6 which was shaping up to be the best issue yet. We were, and are, excited by this issue and the raid caught us at the worst time possible. Seizure of the copy for the new issue was specified in the search warrant. The typeset galleys were taken along with the original articles. The mailing list was also seized. Production has been set back for a month and some expenses will have to be duplicated. Xeroxes of the mailing list were returned to us and we are currently trying to get the typeset copy back as well.

It was rather a mistake to have the list for mailing in our possession. Partially this was because the mailing list was in a shambles and needed a lot of work. It is rather difficult to work on material without possessing it. But more importantly, after months of precaution since the arrest of the Five last January, we had become less security conscious than we should have been. Without direct experience in dealing with repression, mistakes will be made because knowledge of counter-tactics remain on an intellectual rather than emotional level. That is precautions have not yet become secondary nature.

There is also the problem in understanding the relationship between resistance and repression. It is imperative to clearly distinguish between the ego-orientated, over-flowing paranoia that comes from thinking that one is a threat to the State when actually one is of no consequence. And, the other extreme, the false sense of security that comes from thinking that the State will only attack when it has a "legal right to act". The hair splitting that has been introduced in the debate around the new security act that tries to separate "legitimate" and "illegitimate" dissent is entirely bogus. The State would have to gather an enormous amount of information to make such a decision on any particular group.

The political offences listed on the warrant - and it is important to note that no charges have been made along these lines are:

1. Seditious libel.

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2. Sabotage of Litton.

These remain over our heads as potential charges. They could be laid at any time or held off indefinitely. Needless to say, we had nothing to do with the Litton bombing. We were as surprised as anyone to see the headlines about the action in the morning of October 15th. What has separated us from many people is that we haven't tried to put as much distance between ourselves and that action as possible. We recognise that armed struggle will be chosen as an option by elements of the resistance; that such militancy is not the result of some pathological or egotistical motives on behalf of the revolutionaries but is a reflection of the intransigence of the corporate State. The enemy which has forced so many people to take up arms in Central America simply to protect themselves is the same enemy we face. These are the people who used saturation bombing in Vietnam for four years after they realised that they could not win the war. This was vengeance pure and simple. Yet here in the homeland we are expected to be content to dialogue with power and vote every four or five years.

Immediately after the raid, we thought that the accusation of association, or possible association with the Litton bombing, was merely an excuse to come fishing. But as the situation has clarified, it has become more apparent that the Toronto police are very seriously looking for the *Toronto link*. On one level, this is encouraging because it indicates that they have very little information on what actually did happen leading up to October 14th.

Their case against the Five accused is probably very weak. The danger lies in the strong temptation the local police must have to *solve the case* regardless of what information and evidence exists. The police have been caught flat-footed recently. They have drawn blanks in virtually all of the major cases over the past year or so. These cases include the mysterious deaths of over twenty children at Sick Kids hospital; the sexual abuse and strangulation of nine year old Morningstar Keenan last fall; the various brutal attacks and murders of women last summer. And the British Columbia police produced most of the leads that exist on Litton. It is hard to

maintain the image of being a prestigious police department when the statistics indicate quite the opposite. It is quite possible that someone in Toronto will be set up for the Litton rap. It could be us, it could be someone else. But one should not be surprised if it happens.

Having spent some time studying the *Seditious Libel* Laws, we remain as confused as ever as to what such a charge would actually mean. Supposedly it is an advocacy of the use of force to overthrow government without proper authority. Now, that hardly clarifies anything at all. If we are guilty then we share that guilt with tens of thousands of other Canadians. The state will be hardpressed to come up with any written documentation where we have said or actively called for an armed uprising. This completely reduces and trivialises our politics. Besides, we try to avoid such pointless rhetoric.

One can hardly expect the cops to understand the complexities of anti-authoritarian politics. The bureaucratic malaise within which they operate prevents even the few intelligent cops from understanding the difference between the armed overthrow of the government - which would accomplish very little - and the total social transformation of this society. The former is a specific series of acts controlled by a small cadre of leaders who seek to substitute themselves for the previous rulers. The latter is a complicated and lengthy process in which all social relations are challenged and transformed by the active participation and creativity of everyone continued over a very long time period. The political overthrow of the government would be a diversion from an authentic social revolt.

What is obvious is that the threat of such a charge as *Seditious Libel* is an attempt to stifle debate and discussion. *Bulldozer* is a legal magazine yet its existence was severely compromised in the raid. *Bulldozer* is a forum of communication for the "disappeared" people in North America, those people who have been buried by the State in the prisons. Increasingly *Bulldozer* was finding its community amongst the political prisoners, white, native and Black, whom the State is trying to silence. As a collective we sought to use our media skills to give voice to those people who had directly challenged the power of the State.

Continued from Page 21

In this Brave New World that we find ourselves in, communication itself becomes suspect. Without having committed any crimes, we discovered that our most intimate as well as our most political conversations were monitored within our own home. We knew for quite a while this was a possibility but it is quite intimidating and a choking experience to concretely learn that little of our lives has been protected from the prying ears of the State over the past several months. To not to be able to speak freely in ones own home for fear of room bugs merely confirms the worst fears of the State; that there must be no compromise between our freedom and the State's existence.

One direct result of the surveillance on us was the laying of four criminal charges on a woman who had no direct participation in the political activities for which the surveillance was supposedly legally justified. The charges are very serious; *procuring an abortion, procuring instruments for an abortion and two theft charges.* We protest these charges and are totally outraged by them. The person charged is innocent of any wrongdoing. At the time the charge was laid, it was used as leverage to try to gain information on the political activities of others.

In spite of the tensions that have percolated through all of us from the trauma of the raid and its aftermath, we are gaining strength and experience. We are prepared for whatever comes and we will fight on both the political and legal fronts. Financial support is needed to challenge the legitimacy of the search warrants, but especially for the abortion charges. Remember that this woman is suffering persecution because she chose to live with *enemies of the State.* Hardly a heinous crime in itself. It is doubtful that many people would be under intensive surveillance for some months engaging in some behaviour or another that is deemed *criminal.* Bulldozer 6 will come out. It will be late. It will be good. Ironically, we were having problems writing an introduction on *Resistance and Repression.* But that has now been solved. It should be noted that the last time a charge of *Seditious Libel* was laid was in 1950. So to even use it as a threat indicates the depth to which they are willing to stoop. We need political, moral and financial support. Money received, unless specified will be shared between the costs of bringing out the *Bulldozer*, fighting the abortion charges and other support expenses. Please send any contributions to the BULLDOZER; P.O.B. 5052, Stn A, Toronto, Ont. CANADA M5W 1W4.

SOURCE: International Anarchist Press Syndicate.

Melbourne-Australia
Louisiana-U.S.A.

A Short History of New Zealand Anarchism

Industrial Unionism was the driving force behind militant trade unionism in the early nineteen hundreds. The IWW first established a group in Christchurch in 1908. Such personalities as Tom Barker and J.B. King were active in a group in Auckland in 1912-1913, through the Waihi and General Strikes. They were selling thousands of copies of the Industrial Unionist during this period. After the defeat of the 1913 General Strike Tom Barker was deported and ended up back in England. King returned to Sydney. He spoke at a May Day meeting in Wellington in 1932 in defence of Sacco and Vanzetti.

There was a small Anarcho-Communist group in Wellington in 1912. Street fights with police frequently occurred after meetings. A Polish baker called Josephs was involved in this group.

During the 30's there seems to have been individuals who were very active. The Webb family in Auckland and an individual in Wellington. All I know of him was that he was well dressed and carried a copy of Bakunin's writings around with him. Jock Barnes was thinking along syndicalist lines after Savage conveniently forgot to get him a job after the 1955 Labour win. (Jock Barnes was a leader of the 1951 waterfront strike).

There was a Libertarian Socialist Group in Auckland during the late fifties and the sixties. Of course there were exiles from Spain, however few remained active. One person Werner Droscher died a few years ago. He left Germany with the rise of Hitler, and fought in Spain. Werner was active right up until he died, but described himself as a 'retired' anarchist.

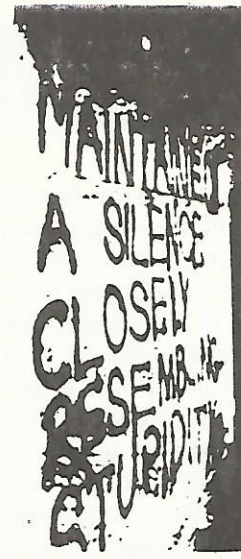
ANARCHISM IN NZ (1982)

There are four main areas worth describing 1) Lumpen street culture, 2) Non ideological communal groups, 3) Protest movements 4) Anarchist politics.

1) Street culture groups are characterised by the proliferation of graffiti (ranging from 'Fuck the State' to the 'racist KKK'), appearances at the Labour Dept and PEP (relief) jobs, punch ups with the cops, support for pub bands (eg the punk style Desperate Measures-1984 song). Currently in Christchurch a business group offers \$300 reward for a graffiti conviction and a PEP job has been created removing graffiti: In Auckland most recent graffiti is of Black Unity origin.

It could be said that the youth movement this reflects knows what it is against - the State, work police but only has a limited conception of what it is for, let alone any contact with local anarchist tradition for what it is worth. Interestingly enough the @ in the circle is quite common as a symbol of resistance on blackboards in the schools.

2) Communal groups arising from the early 70's hippy philosophies. Rural communities still functioning in many places on a combination of small farming, crafts, contracting and dope-growing.



WE HAVE MAINTAINED A SILENCE CLOSELY RESEMBLING STUPIDITY (Graffiti found close to where a young punk anarchist killed himself while attempting to blow up the main policing computer in one of the main cities in New Zealand).

In the cities some cooperatives exist eg. Te Wnana Trust in Christchurch that runs two stores, gardens workshops, community activities.

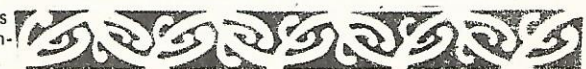
3) Protest movements, eg. Anti-Springbok Tour, anti-nuclear warship, Bastion point/Waitangi Day Maori land rights groups. Anti-authoritarian ideas are articulated but overshadowed by leadership and Leninist ideas and separatist trends in many actions. White patriarchal control by communists of the Wellington anti-tour demonstrations contrasted with the militant autonomous black and wommin led actions in Auckland. There nationalistic women are currently at the forefront of anti-racist movement actions in Auckland. There are women's bookshops in all four major cities and Brickburners' Anarchism & Feminism pamphlet sells well.

4) People who label themselves as anarchist. A small number in Auckland mostly oriented towards musical activity. Lancaster Publishing produces poetry and cassettes. W Innes, author of Don't Pay Taxes and 'How To Survive In Suburbia' lives up that way. Considering the amount of black and wimmins activity in NZ's largest metropolitan centre we would expect a flourishing anarchist movement - alas this is not so. Auckland Anarchy from its heyday in the mid 70's has now largely evaporated (most individuals ending up in Australia or Europe). But we are ever hopeful of a revival.

In Wellington a young group with 'punk' connections is involved in street culture activities, screen printing, anti-Truxton (US nuclear warship) actions. The magazines Fascism & Boredom and Black-out come from there. The individuals however have been subject to much recent police harassment. Political individuals of older ages tend to be heavily influenced by vanguardist & Leninist tendencies that proliferate among the

Parliament and downtown office complexes. Christchurch (affectionately known as smogland) has a print-shop established, offset A3 size printing. Also premises for layout, screenprinting, darkroom & workshop. A library, one issue of Blackmail, posters and two issues of South East News (for local letter boxing) printed. Irregular meetings but a continuity of commitment. The individuals have experience of subversive activities ranging from over a decade to a few months, this diversity of ages and backgrounds brings in new ideas and energies - all largely within the anarcho-communist ideological spectrum. We are playing on exposing local work, corruption, housing, Liquid Petroleum Gas (dangerously stored in housing areas) issues as well as general commentaries and ideas on how to survive. Contact with overseas groups is good and a literature importation and distribution service well organised.

While the number of self-proclaimed anarchists in New Zealand is small and almost exclusively male and pakeha the potential for future activity is good. Long-standing dissatisfaction with the Govt and business is widespread and the various protest and industrial actions over the past decade have created a tradition of struggle that has many anti-authoritarian aspects.



Tu kuna te manu kia rere
Page 23 Black Flag Autumn 1983

BRAZIL

Characteristics of the Popular and Labour Movement

The current political scene in Brazil might be described as a transition period, with the military dictatorship in control, but moving towards a restricted bourgeois-democratic regime. One of the major features of this scene is the emergence of a new labour and popular movement with characteristics that have come as a surprise both to the ruling classes and to the Brazilian Left as a whole.

Broadly speaking we may say that this new movement has three major characteristics which have so far now shown themselves in full organised measure:

- There is a small but growing current of opposition to the dictatorship.
- Demands are being formulated which do not merely run counter to the military regime, but indeed, in some instances, to the capitalist order itself.
- There is a trend towards self-organisation and self-leadership of struggles.

The new labour and popular movement began to make an appearance on the political and social scene after 1977 particularly. Its emergence was only possible because of a slow, hard and unpublicised accumulation of support prior to that date. But, the better to appreciate the novelty and ramifications of this new social factor we must examine briefly the principal features of earlier phases of the Brazilian labour movement.

THE RISE AND DECLINE OF ANARCHISM

It can be said that the history of the Brazilian labour movement is the history of its progressive loss of independence and autonomy. The only period of its history during which the Brazilian labour movement managed to find its expression in more or less autonomous organisations, was the period when anarcho-sindicalists enjoyed an incontestable hegemony within it. The period in question reached its highest point in 1917 when workers went so far as to occupy the city of Sao Paulo and achieved a variety of significant successes. But, especially after the calamitous insurrection of 1918, the anarchist movement in Brazil entered a slow and progressive period of decline. The impact of the Russian revolution and the subsequent foundation of the Communist Party of Brazil reinforced this trend. Even so, weakened as they were by imprisonment and defections, the anarchists remained the leading political school within the labour movement, ahead of the communists, up until 1935. In 1935, after the abortive attempt at insurrection ventured by the communists, a heavy and widespread repression hit every segment of the Brazilian left and the labour movement. After that, Brazilian anarchism was never again to enjoy the status of a mass movement.

The decline cannot, however, be explained by the State's repression alone. Massive migrations of rural workers drawn into the cities by industrialisation, helped to isolate even further the shrinking circles of revolutionary workers. Another factor in the decline was the inability of anarchist leaders to adapt their vocabulary and their methods of action to the new situation arising after the 1930s.

In the wake of the repression against the workers came the vertical unions dependent on the State. This dependent unionism was later to be used by populist labourites as well as the communists of the PCB. Under the "democratic" populist Govt. which followed the end of the Vargas dictatorship (1945) and the military coup of 1964. It should be said, too, that the military Govts. left intact the trade union structure introduced by the dictator, Vargas, after the Mussolini model.

The systematic repression unleashed against the populists after the military coup (and the left especially the labour and popular movement some segments of which radicalised their demands and escaped reformist controls) ended by destroying the traditional populist and reformist leaders that had, until then, enjoyed hegemony within the mass movement. The later failure of the militarist left merely emphasized the profound political vacuum which existed among the workers who were by now thoroughly disillusioned by the bitter fruits of reformist politics.

THE NEW LABOUR MOVEMENT

It was precisely this political vacuum that was one of the factors which obliged the working class and other segments of the population to work out their own forms of organisation and struggle. Again we should stress that these new forms of organisation and struggle did not emerge with a bang only in 1977. They had slowly been devised over many preceding years.

Nor did the new labour and popular movement with its autonomous leanings begin only in 1977, nor even in 1976, as a hurried examination of the question might make us believe. In fact, the new movement began to stir in 1968, during the workers strikes at Osasco and Contagem. In these two strikes we encounter various characteristics of organisation and struggle which are patently autonomous and libertarian:

- in both cases, the strike involved factory occupations.
- there was evidence of self-management in practice (especially in the canteens).
- officers were kidnapped (at Osasco)
- there were self-defence groups to counter any police invasion.
- there were commissions elected by assemblies and independent of the union leadership.

However, apart from the repression confined to specifically these strikes, this new movement, with its autonomous outlook was abruptly interrupted by the passage of "Institutional Act No5" and by the wave of violent repression which followed it. The ten years which followed - especially the 4 year term of the Medici Govt,

were the blackest years in the recent history of Brazil. Imprisonment, torture, murder, censorship, chauvanistic propaganda everywhere..... such were the keynotes of that decade. But, despite the harsh blows it had taken, the workers and peoples movement, contrary to the beliefs of many, did not give up the ghost, even in the blackest years. Its anonymous resistance was manifest in many, various forms - in lightning strikes, go-slows, looting of supermarkets, sabotage of trains and industrial plants etc.

The collapse of the leaderships of the populists (labourites), reformists (PCB) and Blanquists (militarist Left) did not prevent the renaissance of the labour and popular movement. Its slow, painful, molecular reconstitution was the result of a political apprenticeship on the basis of the most basic demands. And, to a large degree, it was an expression of an autonomous energy in various social movements.

AREAS OF STRUGGLE

The autonomous, libertarian and self-organising tendencies of the new movement over the past few years have found expression in 5 major areas:

1) The grassroots church communities

There are about 80,000 of these scattered all over Brazil. They represent one of the chief areas where the autonomous tendencies of the movement have found expression. Far from being a means by which the Church makes use of its masses, they are a means by which the masses



Industrial peace in Brazil

use the Church for their own ends. Their pastors merely offer infra-structural support and afford the means by which the grassroots movements can be organised. Some of the priests champion explicitly libertarian schemes such as say, practical schemes for selfmanagement and federalism. Obviously, we are referring to sectors of the Church and not to the Church as an institution, and not to its hierarchy. By the way, the hierarchy, plays the authorities game, making use of both its traditionalist and of its more progressive followers.

2). The trade union oppositions

Born in 1973-74 and formed initially to compete for leadership of the unions then controlled by the "pelegos"(hacks), the trade union oppositions have become an alternative structure to the official unions. Almost all of them were formed clandestinely; gradually they have changed into open structures recognised by the rank and file workers. In some cases they have even managed to capture the leadership of their union. They are chiefly characterised by their willingness to combat and take on the present, vertical and State-subordinated set-up of the Brazilian trade unions.

3) Tenants' commissions

A phenomenon mainly of the proletarian districts and "favelas" (shanty towns), these commissions are characterised chiefly by the fact that they offer an organisational alternative to the people in the areas where they live, as a means of pursuing struggles concerning transport problems, housing problems, living conditions, food shortages, the high cost of living, etc. Some of these commissions explicitly champion selfmanagement in the theory and practice.

4) The formation of the Partido dos Trabalhadores (Workers Party) P.T.

The P.T. is the only party to have emerged out of the limited and authoritarian party reforms of 1979 that has not been set up by professional bourgeois politicians (nor by the Leftist organisations). Instead it came into being through the initiative of combative trade unionists and popular leaders, to meet the need, sensed by a variety of popular movements...the need to pursue their struggles on a terrain chosen by themselves. Despite styling itself a "party", the P.T. stands for a practice which does not seek to substitute for the workers; instead it stimulates their struggles and grassroots organisations and it serves as a forum for discussion and exchange of experiences. Furthermore, the P.T. sees electoral and parliamentary contests of secondary importance. We might mention, just in passing, that the P.T. is opposed and criticised by the authorities as well as by the reformists and stalinists.

Precisely because it describes itself as a party the P.T. has its contradictions and limitations. It could hardly be otherwise. But, beyond any question, the P.T. does represent, for the moment at least, the present level of consciousness, organisation and combativity of important leading sectors of the labour and popular movement in Brazil.

5). Specific strikes and struggles.

Of the above, we might single out the important labour strikes of 1978-1979 and 1980. In every one, but especially in the ones in 1980, practices of autonomy and self-organisation were evident. The metalworkers' strike in the São Paulo belt of industry in April & May 1980 is the most advanced, most important example of autonomy and self-organisation displayed by the Brazilian working class in recent years. Although they failed to have their economic and social demands conceded, the simple fact that they were able to keep the strike going for 41 days, without the use of pickets and under utterly hostile conditions (the army patrolling the streets, interference from the trade unions, imprisonment of the main strike leaders, etc) is a clear demonstration - (to the authorities, the left and all who are willing to see with their eyes) - of the strength and self-organising abilities of the most advanced sectors of the Brazilian working class. A class that has not yet shown more than the tiniest fraction of its capabilities.

(Bicicleta)

REVIEWS:

GEHAZION THE BENCH

And Nothing But The Truth
Judge Alan King-Hamilton QC
Wiedenfeld & Nicolson £12.50

*Search out and probe, Gehazi
Asthough of all canst try
The truthful, well-weighed answer
That tells the blacker lie -
The loud, uneasy virtue
The answer feigned at will
To overbear a witness
And make the Court keep still.*
KIPLING



This type of book, produced by publishers for libraries and the legal profession at a high price, and shortly afterwards remaindered, is all too familiar, a judge's apologia - one can hardly call it an autobiography.

At the Cambridge Union he proposed the motion *That this house disapproves of woman*: he says it was a joke then, it was no joke years later to poor Janie Jones the singer, faced with an inordinately harsh sentence for keeping a brothel.

After an *unheroic as well as undistinguished* war service (his words: it didn't prevent him boasting about his time in the RAF afterwards) he got to the Bench and became one of the Establishment judges, so confident of himself that he tells blandly about a policeman putting away his notebook, after a traffic offence saying *Well, dog can't eat dog, can it sir?* and cites the fact that though many people thought him biased to the Prosecution, but some thought him fair (had he been impartial, others might have thought him sometimes biased to the Defence, but that - never).

He side-steps the trial of Peter Hain by commenting that *it would have been quite wrong not to prosecute just because he was Peter Hain* which may be true enough but says nothing of his unfairness in court, so flagrant that the jury saw through it and acquitted. In fact Peter Hain was prosecuted because he *was* Peter Hain, proved by the active presence of South African agents in this and other trials involving Liberals.

But not Liberal Trials! this type of epithet is reserved for Anarchists! The last three chapters concern the *Trial of the Anarchists* - so-called because all the defendants proclaimed themselves to be *Anarchists*. Mr Hain never ceased to proclaim himself a Liberal, until long after the trial when he became a self-styled socialist.

When in court Mr King-Hamilton was told that after the trial the press would call it an *anarchist trial*, and if the individuals were convicted, it would be the conviction of *the anarchists*. He went berserk at the suggestion. Even though found innocent, it was so referred to by the press, the Attorney General, and now finally by K-H himself! *It is not a crime to be an Anarchist* he says now - it seemed vastly different in court when one

accusation after another, all from the fascist style-book, was hurled by the Prosecution and the judge, who even dragged in a dictionary definition (and had to be answered with the Encyclopaedia Britannica) as well as references to the IRA and even ETA. *One does not normally allow the witness box to be used as a political platform* he now states primly. Nor, one supposes, the bench. He brings in (as if it were proof of the crimes alleged) that Iris Mills denied being a *pacifist Anarchist*. Aha, then she *did* believe in *violence*! But (even with his unheroic and undistinguished RAF service) was he a *pacifist Conservative*?

The quality of the judgement of K-H may be judged by his own apologia. He makes various claims which cannot possibly be substantiated: that in this trial there were phone calls saying *If the four blokes go down that King-Hamilton is going to be killed* (someone didn't like women perhaps?) and, *we have K-Hamilton's address and he is a dead judge. There was no way of knowing if they were all serious or a hoax, or indeed if they ever happened at all. An usher heard a young female juror say I'm scared*. It doesn't occur to K-H to ask of whom she was scared. But many of them made it clear enough afterwards, it was the secret police.

The whole *Persons Unknown* trial has been pretty well documented, especially in these pages, and we refrain from going through it again. There are so many falsities in K-H's account and so many obvious absurdities that the book can only be summed up, as was the trial, in the *Sunday Times* words - *a disgraceful epitaph to an undistinguished career which has now, mercifully, ended*.

PA CHIN

Pa Chin - the finest Chinese novelist, consistently persecuted for his Anarchism is now 75. In 1979, we learn, he wrote *A Record of Miscellaneous Thoughts* which he said was a *silent shout* to his readers.

Social Anarchism (USA) in its latest issue publishes an article on Pa Chin (he is referred to as Ba Chin, using the new transliteration). The article was printed in an anti-Communist daily with headquarters in Taiwan, which seems to have taken it from a mainland Chinese source.

Up to 1958 Pa Chin's writings were still both praised and criticised in Communist China. They were described as, at best *bridges that lead young people to Communism*! He was assigned the task of changing the heroines and heroes to Communists instead of Anarchists; pictures on the walls of his characters become those of Mao instead of Bakunin and so on.

continues on page 37

BRAZIL 2 The Tinder-box Economy

Only a few weeks ago over 100,000 oil and engineering workers came out on strike creating a total shutdown of Brazil's oil refineries and car plants. The strikers demanded a price and rent freeze and an increase in the wage allowance. The strike was also a protest against the IMF induced austerity measures, severe to say the least. At that point in time the debt crisis had not occurred, but the pressure was already on. The official labour movement (government sponsored trade unions - the 'yellow' unions) tried to 'stabilize' the situation by arguing for a token one day strike for July 21. The strike was to be the first general strike in Brazil for over 20 years.

When the day came there were massive walk-outs in Sao Paulo where over half a million workers stayed at home. The Ford, Volkswagen and Mercedes-Benz plants were completely shut down. Buses, carrying scab workers, were stoned. In the centre of the city buses and underground transport would have come to a complete standstill and the military were forced to intervene. Some union leaders were arrested.

The new austerity measures included substantial wage cuts all round and an increase in rents. Combined with an inflation rate of 130% this meant an estimated 30% cut in the real value of earnings. Over 10 million people - mostly young - are now without the means to receive regular income, and over 49% of all families are earning below the poverty level.

The latest crisis came about partly as a result of the IMF intervention and partly because of general mismanagement by the Brazilian authorities. These 'causes' are, however, but symptoms. The real cause is of course the economy itself and its dependence on international finance.

When it came to the showdown the refusal of the Brazilian authorities to implement the additional austerity measures was but political posturing. It was a double bluff, however, on both sides. The Brazilian authorities neither had the will or the political or economic conviction to opt out of the international economic community and to default on the \$90 billion national debt (the second largest in the world) would have involved just that. At the same time the international bankers could not afford to let Brazil default, according to the rules of their own game. So it was a case of 'call my bluff', with the day to day economics of millions of people at stake. Bluntly if the Brazilian authorities had refused to impose more austerity measures (not out of any altruistic reasons, but more out of fear of insurrection) and insisted on a moratorium of its debts, then this would

have thrown the international banking community into complete disarray. The implications for the international bankers and for much of the world's industrialists would have been beyond comprehension and as

a consequence many of the western banks would have faced imminent collapse, while the whole system of international credit would have been totally devalued. The house of cards which the capitalists had built for themselves would have received a tremendous knocking.

The power Brazil had and still has is known as debtors power. Many of the smaller nation debtors have not yet got this power because they have not accumulated the enormous debt that Brazil has. But if, say, several South American countries combined their debts their bargaining powers against the bankers would also pose a threat. This, however, is where the game begins to fall apart. If Brazil, for example, had defaulted what would the international financiers had done? Send in a task force? Hardly. Enforce an economic blockade? That would have been out too. For a country with little to lose, such a measure would have been virtually meaningless. Furthermore, despite everything, the West badly depends on many of Brazil's natural resources (and for that matter its cheap labour) and a blockade would also have repercussions in other countries. The most likely response of the West would be to encourage a military coup within Brazil. Given an economic collapse the military would have probably stepped in anyway.

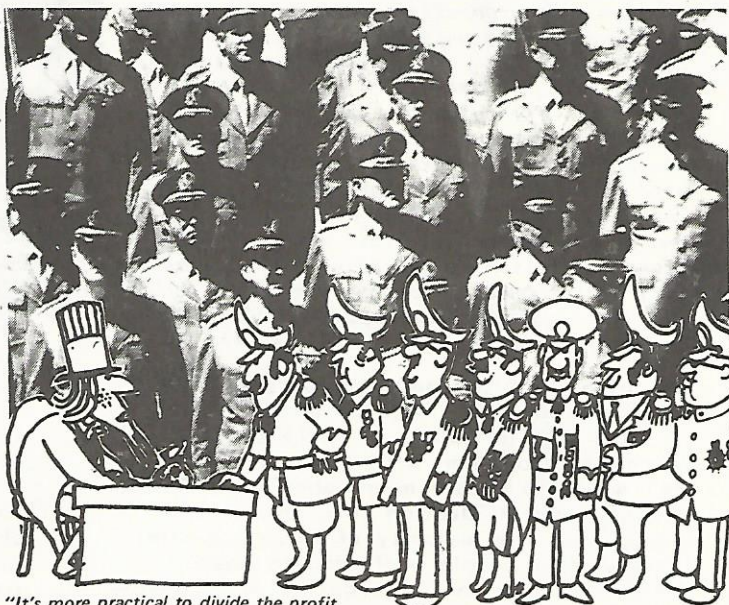
When it finally comes down to it, whatever the scenario, or the response of the West, the Brazilian authorities are unlikely to suffer because of any threat, real or otherwise, of economic isolation. Nor, in fact would the Brazilian people: there lot as it stands could hardly be any worse. If there were a collapse of the Brazilian economy and an embargo imposed on Brazilian credit, it would be the multi-nationals that would have most to fear. They depend on the maintenance of secure trading relations and in themselves control most of the wealth around which the current economic order in Brazil is based. With the isolation of Brazil the multi-nationals - who cannot afford to be distanced either from the source of their wealth - would attempt to takeover completely the decision making apparatus that controlled the country's economy. To a certain extent they do this already: they export the wealth to be re-cycled and invested elsewhere and ensure that sufficient dividends are metered out to the political masters within Brazil. If Brazil reneged on its debts another possibility worth considering is that the US would step in and offer bilateral aid in exchange for certain additional trade concessions and the guarantee of the Brazilian government's active collaboration in the US's Latin American programme.

Although the Brazilian authorities want to stretch their repayments out as much as possible (which in turn means taking on more austerity measures), they also want to avoid creating a situation of open revolution. In economic terms, the longer the

debt repayments are put off, the higher the interest charges and the more money there is for the world bankers. Looked at in this way, the Brazilian capitalists are but servants of the international financiers: they are in their payroll and they are hardly likely to cut off their only supply of income. For the small time capitalist in Brazil the latest crisis has brought about what is known as a cash-flow problem - but on a huge scale. This problem has been caused by many of the smaller firms withdrawing their assets from the banks because of the ridiculously low interest rates within the country and taking out government bonds instead. The cash-flow problem has in turn meant that many businesses have no money for investment (some are therefore going bankrupt) and also cannot pay wages. Some workers haven't been paid wages for weeks and the government is trying desperately to persuade them that the crisis is only temporary.

The multi-nationals, however, are in no danger of collapse; instead they are actually benefiting from the crisis. BAT (British American Tobaccos), for example, have their money invested directly in commodities and are able to, in turn, invest their commodity wealth in the international money markets. For the indigenous companies who have not got the sort of access the multi-nationals have to the international markets, an inflation rate of 125% (with an expected rise of 17% over the next few months) predetermines their going bust. BAT will survive whatever happens. It is the 3rd largest British owned conglomerate, with 91% of its profits coming from outside the UK. It has four divisions: tobacco (it is the world's largest manufacturer of tobacco goods with factories in over 50 different countries and with brand names that include Embassy, Benson & Hedges, John Player, etc); paper (one subsidiary is Wiggins Teape - the largest paper combine in the UK); cosmetics (brand names include Yardley, Lenthéric, and Morney); and retail (BAT own the International Stores chain and own supermarket chains in the USA, West Germany and, of course, Brazil). Over the past 60 years BAT has invested only \$2m into the Brazilian economy and reinvested \$129.5m of the wealth it has earned from Brazil outside. British shareholders alone receive, in total, more than \$80m revenue each year. BAT and its practices typifies the economics of third world exploitation.

For the people of Brazil there are several choices ahead. They can, for example, believe in the false promises of their moderate labour leaders and adopt 'socialism' as adopted in Portugal - still tied to the world economy, with massive poverty. Or they can liquidate the multi-nationals and reject international capital completely. The left suffer the delusion that wealth and income are directly related and dependent upon the national and international economies. Under capitalism (state capitalism or otherwise) they are. In a recent issue of 'Socialist Worker' (the paper of the British Socialist Workers (sic) Party), their comment on the recent situation in Brazil



"It's more practical to divide the profit among 2000 Generals than among 100 million Brazilians" Ruis, Siempre, Mexico City

is shown to be completely ridiculous. They argue that the financial collapse of Brazil would have meant elsewhere that 'millions of workers would lose their jobs' if the Brazilian authorities had defaulted and would 'lead to a repeat of the 30's.' On this basis they do not support default but sympathetic action from the IMF. The trotskys see jobs as being provided by the state; if there is unemployment then it is the state's fault and the state must rectify the situation. Similarly they argue that if a country's economy is to improve and to be of benefit to the people then the state itself has to be changed and made more socialist. This nonsense is typical of the kind of banal thinking that seems to permeate 'socialist' opposition parties everywhere.

In one respect the SWP are right: the destruction of the Brazilian economy would pose many problems for other countries, especially their governments. The reneging of the national debt would probably result in the collapse of many banks in many countries. More importantly other third world governments, plagued by international debts, may also decide to follow suit. International banking would probably then disintegrate altogether, leading to a major world-wide economic crisis for capitalism.

Ironically the Brazilian economy itself would not get worse; rather it would improve - considerably. As it is now it has a sick economy because of the wealth that is exported to the coffers of the IMF and to the multi-nationals, never mind the capitalist barons inside the country. If this direction were reversed and with the wealth redistributed then the quality of the economy would also change. Rather it is the control over the 'national economy' that both the left and the capitalists aspire to that ensures that both ideologies lead, inevitably, to the same economic restrictions, the same austerity measures.

T.H.

The two sides of the state's economy - capitalism and corporatism - are fastly proving that, unlike the union bureaucrats and the party hacks, they can easily accommodate to the changing demands of market trends and their effects on the labour market. New markets have brought forward new allegiances. The spirit that speaks in the 'national interest' on behalf of the right of both camps has discovered a new form of colonisation and a new 'peasantry'. This spirit is the state capitalism of the 80's. Not that much different from state capitalism of the 60's and 70's - perhaps somewhat more sophisticated in its corporate approach and its sheer gall.

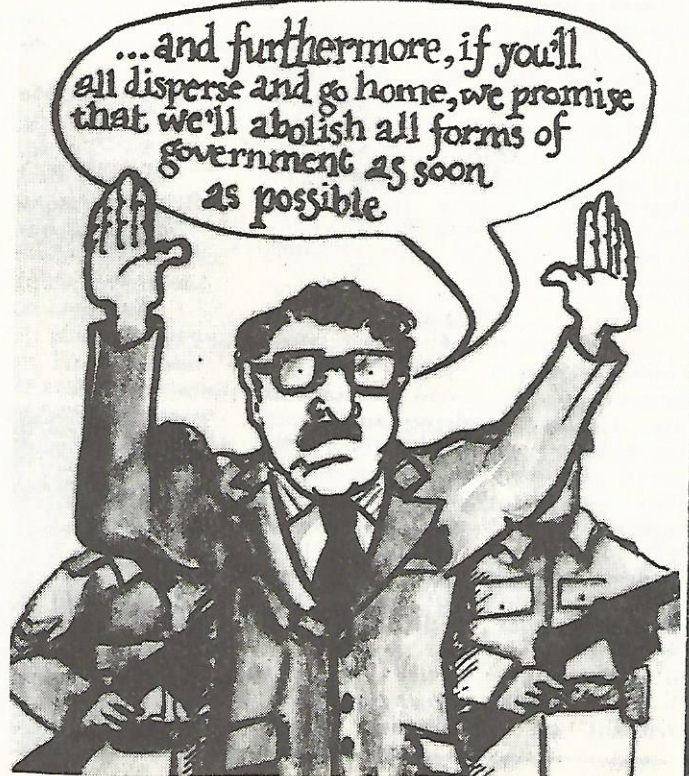
The answer of the parliamentary and 'extra parliamentary left is to continue with its worn out formula's of increased public borrowing (together with increased austerity) so as to create more jobs. At a recent British general election this answer was rejected by the majority of the electorate; instead most people preferred to boycott the farce or to cast a negative vote. Meanwhile the empty promises of the union officials for extra-parliamentary action and the flouting of the law, seemed at the time to be but futile attempts to claim pre-election credibility; now, as they prepare to 'meet Employment Minister Tebbit half way' to 'come to an understanding', their will to keep up the pretence is dropped altogether. Their actions always contradicts their oratory. Where court injunctions are imposed and tribunals dictate, (e.g. Aire Valley Yarns and the TGWU, the Lawrence Scott and the Chloride disputes, the sell-out over the EEP TU branch solidarity action in Fleet Street during the NHS dispute, and the u-turn of SOGAT 82 officials when an injunction was served against local organisers for taking similar action) there has not been one instance where union bosses have stood firm to fight the injustices of the labour laws.

Many unions (such as the TGWU) made conference decisions not to abide by legal restrictions on secondary picketing, for example, and to back disruptive action where disputes were made official. Instead their track record is no different than it has always been. Token strikes, one-day actions and compromise are the hall-marks of their policy. Both the NHS and the rail disputes ended in unmitigated disasters, despite massive support throughout the country. In each case the employers and the government held its teeth, clung on, knowing that it will be the bureaucrats on both sides who will win the day. It was a battle of wills and even though the cards were stacked in the workers' favour, at the end of the day it was arbitration that proved the real victor. What it all boils down to is that over the decades the reformists of the left and centre have always allowed themselves to be conned by the myth that the day-to-day economics of the way we live is inextricably bound to the future economic survival of the state and of business. What is more, they even help to propagate this myth. Let us not forget that in recent years it was the Callaghan government that initiated the cuts trend and that it has always been Labour policy to grind down wages to the lowest possible denominator

TOWARDS A COLLECTIVIST ECONOMY....

through some kind of prices and incomes policy.

For the capitalists, its relatively simple: its all a matter of maintaining profits and providing the conditions for market forces to determine healthy competition. For the labour parliamentarian or the social democrat or their supporters, the choice - if seen in terms of results - is not that different. They believed in the pluralistic economy (to coin a phrase from the Wilson era) and in corporate management (now, somewhat, belatedly disowned by the 'radical left'). In other words a situation where capitalism and 'socialism' can work together in cooperation within a 'mixed economy' (i.e. where the nationalised industries can operate side by side with the private sector, without any unnecessary friction. With the monetarist philosophy came a change in emphasis: the state would identify more with the interests of free enterprise (so we were informed) and pluralism would be no more. Instead municipal and state controlled industry would be encouraged to 'sell off' to the highest bidder, and the capitalists empire would, in consequence, expand into what used to be the domain of the petty bureaucrat, local official and general administrator. At the same time the 'legal' power of the trade unions was eroded and the stage was set for a gradual, but radical, shift in the delicate balance between labour and market forces.



This meant massive redundancies, the wholesale destruction of certain types of industry and a hardening of attitudes by the boss class. It is an undeniable fact that privatisation can and generally does lead to less favourable working conditions and to less wages. Also, that in the transition many workers lose their means of income altogether and, apart from the dole, are unable to find an alternative. For those who do get offered a job by the new employer, new contracts are taken out and the old job is merely offered with reduced wages and loss of hard-fought-for benefits. So far the number of cases where there has been a straightforward transfer from public sector employer to private employer have been few, if not well publicised. These are but test cases: testing the water to see what tactics are used. The future of the British Telecom workers and the scenario of how they will respond to having their main source of income possibly withdrawn is yet to be determined.

With one of the test cases a 'fair wages' case was brought by NUPE against a private company - Grandmet - for paying workers (some of whom had previously been doing the same job, but employed by the local council) lower wages. NUPE won the case in the labour courts, only to be told by the local council - who had contracted out to Grandmet - that the court decision had been invalidated in that the original contract, that had stipulated certain employment conditions, had simply been amended to get Grandmet off the hook. In the same London borough, other privatised workers staged strike action in protest at lower wages - lower than they had been contracted for and despite guarantees of no change in conditions by the new employer. The result: the strike crippled the contractor, who was not able to come up with the goods. However the local council then ended up having to use its funds to meet the excess costs. In both test cases muscles had been flexed on both sides, with each protagonist claiming a victory. The reality, however, is that in both cases so far neither groups of workers have achieved an increase in pay. In the first case the council was able to use and break the law to its advantage; in the second it will probably be able to recoup its losses by merely juggling the figures. What is certain is that it was direct action and not legal action that got the closest to messing the plans up for the council. The union lost its battle by relying on the law to protect it; it neither demonstrated flexibility or imagination in looking at other alternatives. On the other hand the council proved to other employers that there is nothing necessarily sacrosanct about employment contracts, unless of course it suits the employer. For much of the left, both cases were seen as major battle against the public sector and nationalised industry. If private enterprise is the key-stone of Toryism, then nationalised industry must be the hallmark of the state socialist. For the Tory, the encroachment upon the public sector is only the beginning. The truth is that the trend to sell off labour costs to the highest bidder will spread eventually, if the monetarist policy is taken to its logical conclusion, throughout the whole of industry, with private firms



"I've killed a soldier, dad - now can I go and play football?"
Mac in the Daily Sketch

dealing on the labour market direct with other private firms, equating the principle of job mobility with the changing needs of the commodity market.

With a surfeit of jobless (i.e. as unemployment increases), firms will be encouraged to 'off-load' their labour and to take on new labour at reduced costs. In other words the jobless, or job-changer, will be forced to compete more vigorously with each other by undercutting their capacity to make sacrifices and to 'price themselves into a job'. This was a regular phenomenon of the thirties: workers would outsell themselves in the hope of work. It was a sellers market, with labour being the product in demand. The corollary to this trend is that firms will and are cutting their losses in a big way. (Only recently one firm in south Wales secretly moved all its plant to another location while its workforce was on holiday, so as to set up shop elsewhere.) Hand in hand is the search for new markets and new commodities and 'rationalisation' programmes leading to shutdowns and a 'consolidation of resources'. The press like to portray these closures as capitalism going through some kind of crisis: we're all in it together syndrome. The fact is capitalism is not going through a crisis - despite what Marx said - but is merely accommodating itself to changing conditions on a global scale. O.K. some firms do go bust, but those that survive and those that take their place are in a stronger position as a result. On the international scene firms are cutting back drastically in some countries only to expand in others where 'labour conditions are more favourable'. The fascists stupidly think that it is the ethnic minorities that are taking jobs away; instead they are helping to increase employment, while the capitalists are moving to fresher fields. Throughout the industrialised world new third worlds are being created as the labour market shifts to meet the needs of the employer.

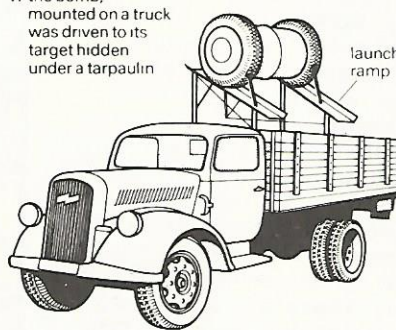
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In Britain already the majority of today's young are taught to accept low pay as the norm. The Youth Opportunities Scheme and the Youth Training Scheme are designed to contribute to this programme. Many of today's poor were once the 'affluent' workers of the 60's, when it suited capitalism to encourage spending. Under the Wilson government it was a time to consume and take out mortgages, with the vast interest rates going into the coffers of the banks and the building societies. Now many are unable to keep up with these payments and have to make their own cut-backs. Nor do many of these 'nouveau poor' have a tradition of working class struggle: they were told all that was a thing of the past. The Labour Party - split between those who identify with the 'middle class workers' of their own creation, and those who still suffer the delusion that they represent 'socialism', albeit state socialism - lost many of its voters, while the young - whose parents it was found themselves in the same wilderness the Labour Party had helped to create - rejected broadly the party politics of both the left and right as irrelevant to the condition they now found themselves in. Their cynicism of politics manifested itself in the fetishisms of fashion, the anti-authoritarian actions of the '81 nationwide riots, and the preoccupation with the sub-culture of the anti-bomb protest movement.

Corporatism was always recognised as an integral part of Labour Party strategy; the Tories rejected this approach because of its embryonic totalitarianism involving from the top downwards industry, state, and the unions. The National Enterprise Board became Labour's vehicle for promoting the corporate management style: their vision was an economy run in the 'national interest' with the cooperation of all sectors, with added financial incentives for those private sector firms who participated 'voluntarily' (and threats of nationalisation for those that didn't), and promises of 'worker participation' (i.e. a token say in the running of capitalism) for the unions on condition that they didn't rock the boat. It was the kind of deal the Tories secretly admired, but were unable to support because in the long run the public sector would simply be discriminated against. Instead they needed to find an alternative strategy that still provided for state control without detracting from the traditional Tory support for 'free enterprise'. The 'left' within Labour has almost succeeded in making the term 'corporate management' a dirty phrase of the past, but, despite all the denials to the contrary and Thatcher's talk about less state control and the 'libertarian' economy, the Tory monetarists have succeeded in reviving the corporatist approach at a degree that makes all previous Labour Party efforts appear clumsy. Through this new approach the marriage of state and industry is almost complete. Thatcher's policy is not, as she would have us all believe, to enrich the power of the private sector above all else and to allow market forces to be the guiding force on productivity and employment levels. On the contrary, this is pure fiction. Her aspiration is more of an economy whereby the future prosperity and security of the private sector is guaranteed (i.e. benevolently controlled) by a

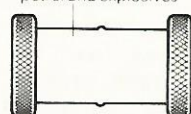
The Irgun 'barrel' bomb

1. the bomb, mounted on a truck was driven to its target hidden under a tarpaulin



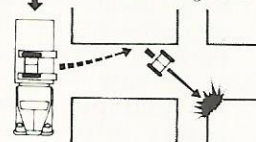
launch ramp

barrel packed with petrol and explosives



detonator inside truck tyre

2. released by a pull cord in the cab, the bomb rolled down the launch ramp and into the target area



pro-free market state. This means more laws, not less, and more restrictions on 'free collective bargaining'. More help to small firms struggling to survive, more sell-offs of 'public-owned' industry at prices in favour of the private sector. More control over just how far local councils can reverse this trend by their supporting public sector industry at a local level. Greater funding of private industry by providing cheap labour through the MSC, YTS and YOP. And the deliberate engineering of a labour surfeit so as to provide the ideal conditions for firms to toughen up to wage demands.

This is not monetarism but state capitalism. For five years the Tory government has intervened on every major industrial dispute talking about more 'cash limits', national productivity levels, how wage rises in one industry may encourage similar demands in another. Where the Tories have injected money into the economy, this has been in the kind of industries that are not only deliberately non-labour intensive but are guaranteed to provide the sort of technology that encourages other industry to become less labour intensive. This is fine if Tory policy meant that we could work less without the quality of our life worsening. But this is not the case.

At the same time the inertia of many of the union leaders in responding to this social and economic engineering may not be all that surprising. After all the Tory policy merely complements much of the sectionalism of many of the (especially craft) unions. For most union bureaucracies the skilled worker comes first, then the semi-skilled, then the un-skilled, and lastly the unemployed. And never the twain shall meet, otherwise the whole principle of wage demarcations gets undermined. It's a fact that the lower paid have more in common with the jobless than they have with their fellow higher-paid (relatively) workers. This connection is more clearly understood when the wage demands of the lower paid are constantly being measured against those on the 'social wage' and vice-versa. Each section of the working class is thus placed in a position whereby the state attempts to play one off against the other.

On the more positive side people are beginning to question the value of employment at the price of institutionalised austerity. Under state socialism/capitalism work is, of course, geared to profit and not needs. Productivity is not necessarily the real reason behind the creation of redundancies and for some this realisation is bringing about a radical rethink of the true nature of the relationship between the union bureaucracies and industry. For capitalism redundancies are generally created as part of a deliberate response to changing forces in the commodity market. If, for example, the 'value' of coal is artificially decreased because of a greater emphasis on the competition from alternative energy resources, then a cut-back on production is preferred rather than create a glut which could lead to lower pricing and lower profits. For those industries which are not constrained to the exploitation of one product, and are free to expand in whatever direction they wish (i.e. private industry), re-investment in other areas is the answer. Re-investment normally involves cut-backs in one area, followed by expansion in another.

In theory higher productivity should mean less work, not more: as production becomes more cost-effective and new technology assists greater efficiency, then the requirements on labour should be less and so either working hours can be reduced (but not at the expense of wages) or job-sharing can be encouraged. We almost take for granted that the 8 hour day is normal; yet it wasn't that long back that a 60 hour week was the norm (for some it still is). But if overnight suddenly everyone found themselves with a 20 hour week, industry wouldn't suddenly grind to a halt, nor would there be an explosion in poverty, hunger or any of the other calamities we are assured will happen, by both the right and left, if work levels were substantially cut all around. It is true that industry would adjust, but this would merely take the form of an adjustment in the commodity market and a change in the restrictions of the type of work we do (i.e. there would be less competition and less bureaucracy). If it were true that more work equals more production equals more profit, then capitalism would be so organised so as to have every person capable of work (and even those who were not) working 16 hours a day, seven days a week and unemployment would not be allowed. Instead capitalism is trying to create more unemployment. It is not production as such that creates wealth, but supply and demand.

On the other side of the coin unemployment, for the capitalist, can serve two functions: it helps to stabilise the labour market encouraging workers to stay where they are and not to make too many demands; it also helps to stabilise the demand for commodities (without an expendable income your spending power is reduced). In this respect it could (and should) be argued that as an (unwilling) prop to this system of regulation, the jobless are of important value to the capitalist and therefore should be rewarded - without them the profit system wouldn't work! If, for example, everyone suddenly had both the capacity and the desire to buy a certain product from a certain firm - overnight the market for these goods (depending on the type of goods) would be made obsolete. The principle here is that capitalism depends not on our spending power, as we are constantly being told (as an incentive to work harder and earn more money), but more on our desire (inculcated by advertising) by what we cannot afford and may never afford. Thus we are then encouraged to take out loans and make repayments, which are in turn used to pay dividends back to the capitalists.

Perhaps the biggest lie of all - believed in strongly by reformists of all hue, and without which the future of a union bureaucrat could not be guaranteed - is that our right to well-being is something that is not ours, but is something that has to be bargained for. The capitalists, therefore, believe that the fruits of production is rightfully theirs and that we have to negotiate for our slice of the cake. Nevertheless until most of us begin to see through this lie, then there has to be a struggle for reforms against those who exploit. By itself, with no vision of what we are trying to create for ourselves out of this chaos, then such a struggle can become an end unto itself. But as capitalism and the state will lose materially as we make material gains, so also will they lose on a qualitative level as we attempt to create the sort of society that we, as libertarians, will hope will one day be.

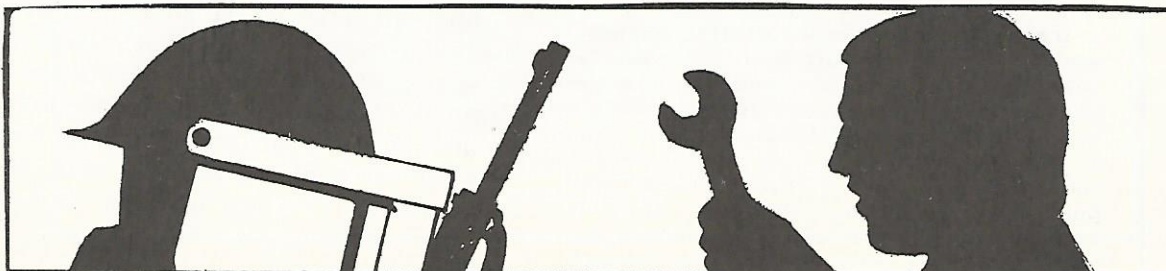
So what are the alternatives to compromise?

FIRST. A total rejection of any form of arbitration, followed by a complete boycott of the labour laws (even those that claim to work for the workers benefit).

SECOND. A realignment of the forces of labour away from the hierarchical and authoritarian reformist unions and a move towards greater inter-industrial solidarity.

THIRD. The creation of an alternative economy based on mutual aid and need.

FOURTH. The use of defensive measures in preparation to a more generalised confrontation against state and capital.



The reasons for rejecting the labour laws have been outlined above: these laws only but serve to involve the working class in the participation of bourgeois legalities. These legalities mostly work against our interests. If the tribunals and law courts were boycotted on a significant scale, then they would be made obsolete and the state and industry would have to deal with the direct action of the workers.

Without creating new bureaucracies to replace the old ones, alliances to provide maximum solidarity would be essential so as to avoid sectionalism and isolation from wider support. In the workplace these alliances would be based on the actions of solidarity and not the rhetoric. Completely new tactics would need to be evaluated and tried out, avoiding the mistakes of the past. All-out strikes could be crippling, if there is no major strike fund (contributed by as many workers in as many other industries as possible) to act as a substitute to wages. (Likewise, as workers solidarity increases, so will solidarity between firms.) Go-slows, lightning actions, etc could be used instead. Greater use of sabotage, expropriations, etc are especially useful if massive support for the action cannot be gained. Also, self-imposed improvements, if done unilaterally is a tactic that many workers have completely forgotten about (it was used very effectively by IWW members for reducing the number of working hours). In the transition leading to more drastic change, major reforms in the form of a 4 hour working day (with no loss of pay), massive job-sharing and job-rotation could become a demand of these alliances. This would significantly cut down the number of people who are jobless and at the same time provide a change in the quality of work.

In the community a boycott (on a neighbourhood basis or even on a wider scale) of rent and rate payments, of electricity and gas bill (and other debt) payments, the take-over of municipal property for more communal use, a complete withdrawal of cooperation with the local authorities (including the 'socialist' ones), a collective refusal to transport fares, the occupation of empty housing, the boycotting of banks and other financial institutions, would all help to weaken the hold of the state and capital and would complement the struggle in the workplace for the destruction of the power bases. Such a refusal to collaborate with these bases could even work on a purely localised basis, but would only gain permanence if there were other similar actions elsewhere. At the same time commodity value would begin to lose its hold and there would be a gradual drift to production based on need.

The new unit of production would then be determined not on sales but on consumption. For those who have been on the 'social wage' or for those who were the lower paid, a transition to a non-capitalist economy would be less difficult than for those who over the years had won 'gains' and were used to a higher income: for them it would be difficult to understand that there would still be a plentiful supply of all necessary commodities to meet everyone's needs. Our goal would be to abolish money (and its substitutes) altogether. Why would it be necessary? Also with industry no longer run on the basis of competition, or run

by bosses we could work in the way we ourselves considered best met our needs. There would be no need to produce useless products, for example, and there would be a shift in emphasis on the way industry is run (i.e. you wouldn't need ticket collectors if there was a refusal to pay fares, never mind if money had ceased being of any use; the vast army of administrators would also be made redundant). Without the necessity for managers, free-loaders or bureaucrats (who take up $\frac{2}{3}$ of the jobs in the modern day industrial society) there would be no need to institutionalise job-sharing, it would be a natural phenomena. Work patterns would not be just changed; with a qualitative difference in the way we saw work, sectionalism would be a thing of the past.

As the same time as the confrontation with industry in the workplace and the transformation of daily economic and social life in the neighbourhoods, additional defensive measures, as a rearguard to the more generalised rebellion, would be needed to fight off the counter-attack from the forces of the state, and those with class interests to protect, never mind the authoritarians of both the right and left. Classic guerrilla tactics will prove the more favourable. These could include major attempts at sabotage, mass expropriations, general harassment of the enemy forces, the creation of no-go areas, etc, leading eventually, as opposition grows, to all out class war and an attempt to destroy the state and capital completely. Local defence groups, integrated within the workplace and neighbourhood struggles, providing solidarity could be the ideal arrangement for striking at the enemy without giving them the chance to use their superior forces to crush any visible and identifiable threat. It is also important that these defence groups do not take on an authority of their own: history has shown that as society is transformed they can become the new armed authority, representing the new 'proletarian state'. To safeguard against this possibility (or rather probability) greater emphasis must first be placed on the resistance in the neighbourhoods and in the places of work and on the new forms of cooperation that will form the grounding for an alternative economy. The way we live and cooperate, the way we organise outside of the state structure, the way relate to each other in a non-authoritarian manner, all will have an effect on how society is transformed in the wider scale.

T.H.
July, 1983

(The above article is a personal view. The author is a member of the anarcho-syndicalist federation, the Direct Action Movement (British section of the International Workers Association. It is hoped that other ideas about work, unemployment, redundancies, productivity, the response of the unions, and on the economy in general will be sent in and in this respect we would like to open up a debate on this whole area. All articles/letters are welcome.)

CHILE

Anarchism and the Workers Movement

The anarchists must enter the working-class unions, first of all to carry on anarchist propaganda there, and then because it is the only way in which - on the day we all hope for - we may have at our disposition groups who are capable of taking over the direction of production; we must enter the unions, finally, to struggle energetically against that detestable state of mind that makes the syndicates disinclined to defend anything but special interests.....

Malatesta

The Chilean workers movement is one of the oldest organised workers movements in Latin America. From its early mutualist origins it quickly assumed a truly revolutionary character and constantly fought for the transformation of Chilean society through the destruction of not only the capitalist system but of the State itself, which it saw as an instrument of repression and domination. Throughout its long history it has also persistently fought for its autonomy and integrity despite continued attempts by political parties, especially the Communist, to utilize and manipulate it for their own ends.

The deep historical roots of the Chilean workers movement can be traced back to the founding of the first mutual benefit society, in 1847, which was the first association of its kind in Latin America. Some six years later, in 1853, the printing workers of Santiago, under the leadership of the Peruvian Victor Laynez, founded the *Sociedad Tipografica* which later became the *Union de Tipografos*. In 1858 workers in the coastal town of Valparaiso created the *Sociedad de Artesanos*, and by 1860 similar groups had been formed in Santiago and La Serena. From then on the number of mutualist societies rapidly increased. By 1870 thirteen such organisations existed, rising to 39 in 1880 and 240 in 1900. The maximum number of 600 was reached in 1925 with a total membership of 25,000. In 1916 the representatives of these mutualist societies formed the *Congreso Social Obrero* which played an important role until the late 1920's.

In parallel with the mutualist societies whose aims were confined simply to mutual aid, education and the improvement of working conditions for its members, a more radical workers organisation was formed. In 1850 Francisco Bilbao, a veteran of the 1848 revolution in Paris, together with Santiago Arcos and Eugenio Lillo founded the *Sociedad de la Igualdad* (*Society of Equals*) in Santiago. The aim of the *Sociedad* was 'political sovereignty through a natural and communal life'. Over the next nine years the *Sociedad* became very popular and influential both in workers and intellectual circles. Spreading propaganda through its journal, *El Amigo del Pueblo* (*The Friend of the People*), it organised meetings throughout the country. In 1859 mass meetings in the towns of San Felipe and La Serena called for an immediate social revolution. Governmental response to this potential insurrectionary situation was swift. The *Sociedad* forceably dissolved with brutal repression and Bilbao expelled from the country on a trumped up charge of 'blasphemy' over a book he had written on the Church.

For the next thirty years or so Chilean

workers were without any form of radical organisation. This however did not hamper an important and widespread strike of the saltpetre workers of Tarapacan in June 1890, who demanded to be paid in money and not tokens exchangeable at the stores owned by the company. This strike, the first to be organised by Chilean workers, was put down with great brutality on the orders of the Englishman Colonel North better known as the 'King of saltpetre'.

In 1893 the first Chilean anarchist journal *El Oprimido* (*The Oppressed*) appeared in Santiago, followed in 1900 by *El Acrata*. At the same time the anarchists began agricultural colonies which soon began to send agitators on propaganda tours throughout the country.

The opening years of the 20th Century brought the revival of militant workers organisations. In January 1900, through the efforts of the anarchists, the *Combinacion Mancommunal de Obrero* (*Combined Workers Association*) was founded in the northern sea port of Iquique. In its short life of barely 5 years the *Mancommunal* had united the majority of nitrate and maritime workers in the Northern sea board towns and cities. Its ideas were spread by its two journals, *El Maritimo* (*The Seaway*) of Antofagasta, and *El Trabajo* (*Work*) of Iquique. In addition it organised a whole series of public conferences, its best known speakers being Malaquias Concha and Juan Vargas Marquez. The anarchists were also instrumental in founding, in 1902, the *Federacion de Obreros de Imprenta* (*Federation of Printing Workers*) in Santiago, which soon had a membership of 7,000. With the decline of the *Mancommunal* due to police repression the anarchists organised *Sociedades de Resistencia* (*Resistance Societies*) throughout the country. These *Sociedades* soon became very popular due to their direct action approach in confronting Chilean capital, and were especially strong among the miners, dockers and maritime workers. By 1910 it had around 55,000 adherents in 433 active *Sociedades* (when the total population of Chile at the time was 3,200,000 people.)



Chilean peasants during the Allende government's agrarian reform programme.

The early years of the century also saw a series of bloody confrontations between workers and the representatives of State repression. In December 1901 the *Mancommunal* organised an unsuccessful 3 month long general strike of dockers and maritime workers in Iquique. The strike was repressed with much brutality and many workers were deported to the extreme south of the country. In 1902, Santiago tramworkers held a successful 2 week long strike during which tramcars were burnt in the street. In May 1903 striking maritime workers in Valparaiso won an increase in wages from the shipping companies only after company offices were burnt down and a running battle between workers and the police resulted in 30 dead and over 200 wounded. In October 1905 a mass protest in Santiago, against the rising cost of living and the demand for a deduction in import tax on livestock from Argentina in order to reduce the price of meat, developed into a revolutionary general strike which then became known as the *Semana Roja* (*Red Week*). During the ensuing governmental repression over 200 people were killed and wounded by the police and army. In January 1906 a strike of train drivers and footplate workers on the Antofagasta-

La Paz railway developed into a general strike. In March the strike was put down by the police with many workers being killed or wounded. In December 1907 a massive strike of over 30,000 nitrate workers took place in the Northern Province of Tarapaca. In the course of the struggle the town of Iquique was occupied by the strikers. What followed was to be the bloodiest episode in Chilean working class history. During the 'liberation' of the town by the army under the command of General Silva Renard over 500 workers were machine gunned to death, along with their families, in the space of 7 minutes in front of the Church of Santa Maria.

During these struggles the employers placed the names of militant workers on 'black lists' which were then circulated amongst the owners of mining and industrial establishments. Once on one of these lists it was almost impossible for them to find employment.

In September 1909 the first national workers union, the *Gran Federacion Obrera Chilena* was founded in Santiago. The aims of G.F.O.Ch, though, were reformist, including the forming of funeral clubs & consumers cooperatives and the encouragement of mutual aid amongst its members. In 1914 the G.F.O.Ch. was legalised by the Government, no doubt due to its moderation. Two years later its main objective was realised when a law was enacted that made employers compensate workers for accidents at work.

While the anarchists were playing an important role within the heart of working class organisations, they continued their independent propaganda work throughout the country, mainly by means of their journals many of which lasted several years. A brief survey of anarchist publications will show clearly the breadth of their activity. It is possible that some of the journals were attached to branches of the *Sociedades de Resistencia*, but as the

Sociedades had their own collective organ, *El Siglo XX* (*The 20th Century*) this is by no means sure. *El Obrero Libre* (*The Free Worker*), Tarapaca - 1903-1904, *Luz* (*light*), the monthly journal of the *hogar armonista Elisio Reclus* - Concepcion 1904, *La Batalla* (*The Struggle*), Valparaiso - 1907-1924; *Luz y Vida* (*Light & Life*) 'workers periodical of libertarian propaganda' Antofagusta - 1908 - 1920, *La Protesta* (*The Protest*), Santiago - 1908 - 1912; *Adelante* (*Forward*), Puerta Arenas - 1910 - 1912; *El Surco* (*The Furrow*), Iquique - 1917 - 1925. Several anarchist centres were also founded, the most influential being the Centro Anarquico de Estudios Sociales - *La Brecha* (*The Breach*) of Iquique that functioned between 1915 and 1917.

The immediate post war years brought a renewed workers movement, as it did throughout the rest of Latin America. In December 1919 the by now re-organised F.O.Ch. (it had dropped the *Gran*), held its first congress in the town of Concepcion. Abandoning its former moderation and reformism it proudly declared its new principles - 'the abolition of the capitalist State, which would be replaced by the *Federacion* who would organise production and distribution'. True to its newly found autonomy it also refused participation in, or control by any political or religious party. The radicalism of F.O.Ch. however was shortlived. During its second Congress in 1922, in Rancagua, a group, unknown to the vast majority of delegates, and led by Emilo Racabarren who had recently returned from a six week visit to Moscow, and was under orders from the Comintern to found a Communist Party in Chile, managed to persuade the Congress, despite strong opposition from many authentic delegates to adhere to the Moscow orientated International of Red Trade Unions. With the infiltration of the Communists in F.O.Ch. newspapers and presses owned by the *Federacion*

were soon taken over. It also signed, in the short term, its own death warrant as an autonomous organisation, and soon abandoned its direct action approach to the struggle. The decision to adhere to the I.R.T.U. however was not adopted, with unanimity. Over the following years several unions were to leave F.O.Ch. beginning with the *Federacion Obrera Ferroriaina* (*Federation of Railway Workers*) in 1923. During its short life as an autonomous organisation though, F.O.Ch. did manage to organise and support the massive strike of coal miners in 1920.

In December 1919, as F.O.Ch. was declaring itself a revolutionary union, a section of the Industrial Workers of the World was founded in Santiago, and immediately affiliated 7 syndical organisations embracing well over 9,000 members. Throughout its existence the IWW's main strength lay with the maritime workers of the coastal towns especially Iquique, Valparaiso and Antofagusta. It was also active in organising unions of bakers, bricklayers, shoe and munition workers. Although never having the large membership of the communist dominated F.O.Ch. the IWW was still able to command a considerable amount of influence. In the summer of 1920 it led a 3 month long strike of maritime workers to prevent the export of cereal when its exportation was causing famine and consequently raising the price of available cereal. On July 22nd the Govt. responded by raiding the IWW's headquarters in Santiago and instigating a generalised repression of anarchist workers throughout the country. This repression however did not stop the IWW from organising strikes of maritime workers in the ports of Valparaiso and San Antonio in 1923, and publishing its own journal *Accion Directa* (*Direct Action*).

Outside the IWW there were several



... the ever-present fear of arrest and torture'. A worker in the hands of the Chilean army.

the worst kind. For the next 4 years he unleashed a relentless campaign of brutal repression against workers organisations. Hundreds upon hundreds of militants were murdered in the streets, tortured or sent into internal exile. Both the IWW and the F.O.R.Ch. were destroyed (as were the Communist unions) and their leaders deported to the islands of Mas Afuera and Aysen. These years, except for the reign of terror instigated by the bloody Pinochet, were the blackest in the history of the Chilean workers movement. Finally, in 1931, a popular uprising, beginning with a students strike and an insurrection by sailors of the Chilean Navy, and ending in a general strike, brought about the downfall of the regime and the exile of 'Paco' Ibanez.

With the downfall of Ibanez workers organisations began to be reformed. The Communists made an attempt to revamp F.O.Ch without much success. The anarchists though, were more successful. In 1932, what remained of the IWW and F.O.R.Ch joined forces with a few independent libertarian groups and formed the *Confederacion General de Trabajadores* (General Confederation of Workers). The C.G.T. which was similar in structure to F.O.R.Ch. varied from the IWW since it adopted the regional federation as its base rather than industry. Some months after it's foundation the C.G.T. had affiliated 35 unions including those of the painters, carpenters, electricians and printers, with a total membership of over 17,000. It also began to publish it's own newspaper, *La Protesta*, which served as a mouthpiece for various other anarchist groups. Some other anarchist workers organisations remained outside the C.G.T. These included the *Federacion Sindical Libertaria de Estucadores y Ramos Similares* (Libertarian Syndicalist Federation of Plasterers and similar trades). They also had their own newspaper which lasted from 1935 - 1955.

In december 1934 the communists, socialists and other parties joined forces to create the *Confederacion de Trabajadores de Chile* (Confederation of Chilean Workers). The C.T.Ch, dominated as it was by political parties, was totally reformist in character and soon became plagued by the rivalry between the Communists and Socialists.

In 1952 Carlos 'Paco' Ibanez, already well known to many older Chilean workers, was elected to the Presidency. This coincided with a significant intensification

of the workers struggle against both the employers and the State; a struggle that was being waged increasingly outside the C.T.Ch which by now had split into two factions and no longer represented the interests of the working class.

On May 1st 1952 a commission of other anarchist inspired and led organisations the *Federacion de Obreros en Resistencia Autonomos* (Autonomous Federation of Workers Resistance) whose journal was *Autonomia y Solidaridad* (Autonomy & Solidarity), and the *Federacion de Obreros de Imprenta* (Federation of Print Workers) who, during their Congress at Tesnino in 1924 approved a declaration of principles demanding 'a future society based on free accord'.

In 1925 a split took place within the Chilean IWW, when some of its strongest unions broke away to form the *Federacion Obrera Regional Chilena* (Regional Federation of Chilean Workers), based on the Argentinian F.O.R.A. The IWW continued with a greatly reduced membership until 1927. It also reappeared briefly from 1942-1945.

In 1927 Carlos Ibanez, a former army Colonel became the President of Chile. Despite being elected by the popular working class vote on the promise of social reform, Ibanez soon became a tyrant of Labour Unity was formed, which in the February of the following year founded the *Central Unica de Trabajadores de Chile* (The Single Central Organisation of Chilean Workers). The C.U.T.Ch included under it's umbrella several small independent unions, both fractions of C.T.Ch. and the anarchist C.G.T., and was directed by a national council comprising of representatives of affiliated organisations. The anarchists were represented by 4 counsellors; Ernesto Miranda, Ramon Dominguez, Hector Duran and Celio Poblete. In addition to the national council, provincial, regional and departmental councils were established throughout the country.

At last the unity of the Chilean working class had been realised, at least in the short term, as manual and white collar workers, students, peasants and intellectuals all flocked to join the C.U.T.Ch.

A series of large scale demonstrations were organised in many parts of the country, and soon workers were confronting both employers and the State in an atmosphere of open war. For once this unified action was taking place independently of political party control. The

workers were taking part in the struggle for themselves and no one else.

In the beginning of 1956 C.U.T.Ch. organised several limited strikes in preparation for a total stoppage. Finally, in July 1956 a general strike was called.

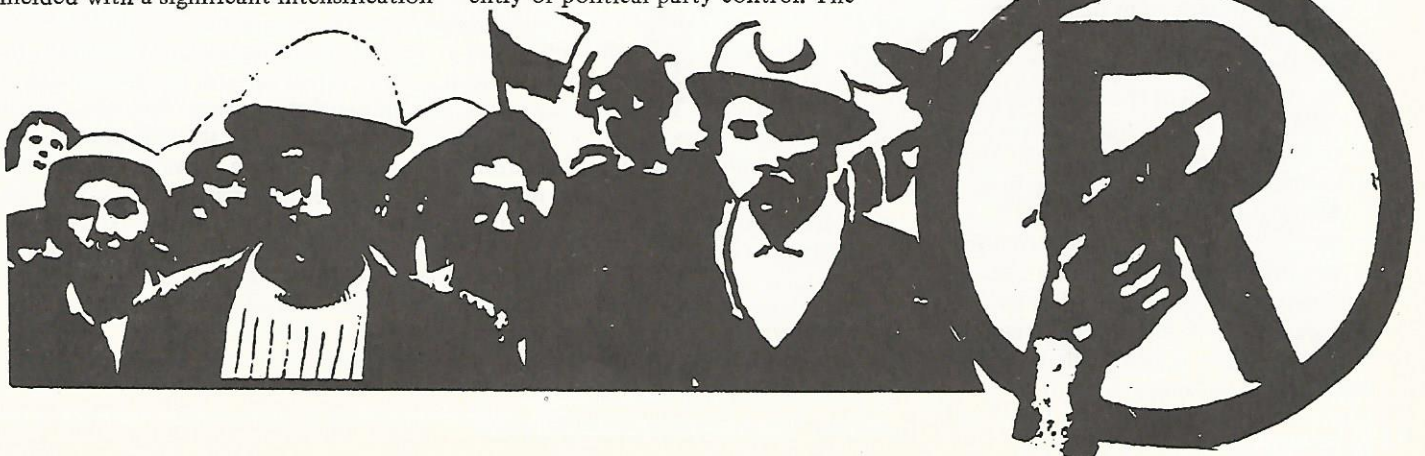
The strike was remarkable due to the force and capacity of the workers new found revolutionary syndicalism. Chile had known nothing like it before. The strike was absolutely total. For 48 hours nothing moved. The government began to waver and Ibanez threatened to resign and hand over the responsibility of running the country to C.U.T.Ch. Clearly worried by this situation the leaders of the left wing parties recommended that Ibanez should ask C.U.T.Ch to convene a commission to present its grievances and at the same time call off the strike. A commission was duly formed, headed by Clotavio Blest, C.U.T.Ch's President, and presented Ibanez with their petition. He immediately demanded 7 days to consider the grievances on the condition that work was resumed. After 2 days of violent discussion a solution was reached - with the total agreement of the communists and socialists, the strike was suspended. The 4 anarchist counsellors refused to accept this without consulting their members but they were overruled. In a climate of disorientation the workers returned to work with nothing at all to show for their sacrifice and struggle.

After this bitter experience the unity of the Chilean working class fell to pieces. In 1957 another general strike was called by C.U.T.Ch to attempt to gain the demands made the previous year but it was a complete failure. Confidence in the leadership was now non-existent. After this the anarchists finally withdrew from C.U.T.Ch. By 1960 anarchist influence in the Chilean workers movement became minimal.

Now under the bloody dictatorship of Pinochet and his band of torturers, the Chilean workers are engaged in a new struggle. The fall of the dictator is not far off, and when this happens, and the workers are again free to organise themselves let us hope many of the past problems and failures will not be repeated.

September 11th 1983
10 years after Pinochet's Coup.

Paul Albert.



LEFT NATIONALISM

Some otherwise libertarians cling to the nationalist illusion, though they find it convenient to limit their 'nationalism' to certain particular nationalisms. They accept that English Nationalism equals fascism, but are disinclined to say the same of Irish or Palestinian or any Third World Countries - unless the latter are out of favour with Moscow and the package deal, eg. Israel, when nationalism becomes Imperialism! There is even some esoteric standard where by it is possible to decide which of two conflicting nationalisms within a nation State are 'progressive' (ultimately it again falls back on which is for America and which is for Russia.

We have received several letters on the subject. One of them is from someone writing from the Northern Ireland point of view; which starts by defending nationalism as such:

Nationalism in Ireland is not only at war with an unwanted political, economic, cultural and military oppression, it is a positive force which asserts ITS uniqueness, ITS worth, ITS value, through the hearts and minds and actions of Irish people. Republicanism in Ireland, and elsewhere, has long recognised that humanity needs free nations just as the nations need free individuals. Republicanism seeks to destroy British rule in Ireland, and to promote social justice based on just re-distribution of resources and equal opportunity at all levels. It is NOT expansionist in nature, but seeks, alone, to assert and achieve freedom for the Irish nation to take control of its own future.

Hold on a minute. Nationalism in Ireland won. It established a Republic. Must it, to have achieved the wonderful aims ascribed to it have all the counties including the six excepted counties.? Couldn't there have been a start to its "unique" goals?

Where in the world has 'Republicanism' meant any advance whatsoever in the modern world? Historically, the capitalist nations generally had to slough off feudal monarchism; in England the monarchy was able through cunning to survive, to integrate itself, and the aristocracy, in the capitalist order. Its present day structure socially is no different from Republican France, America & elsewhere. It is only in the Six counties of Ulster that there lingers a belief in the Republic as something utopian: though the social and economic programme of the Irish Republicans is indifferent from that of the Labour Party here and at times below that of the Conservatives.

This correspondent (No Name) is angry that Gerry Adams is compared with Menachem Begin "Gutter ideology of the first rank" as she/he/it elegantly puts it. "Gerry Adams is respected for his personal courage and his dedicated efforts to help organise and politicise an occupied and brutalised community." But another correspondent - giving the cognomen 'Jacob' is equally indignant that Menachem Begin should be compared with Jerry Adams. "When you denounce Begin do
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not forget he is a man of great courage and was an urban guerrilla who fought against oppression". Well, we don't. Much the same can be said of Stalin, Tito and others. Some dictators were cowards from the start. Not all. What has this to do with today?

"Jacob" berates us for "anti-semitism" in opposing the State of Israel. But anti-semitism is a political term given to those opposed to Jews for any and every reason whatever and not making distinctions between whether they are religious, atheist, nationalist, internationalist revolutionary, reactionary. The Nazis put it that it did not matter what one believed, what was wrong was a different racial origin. Anti-semites have no doubt reason to dislike Israel but they equally dislike anti-Zionist Jews, though no doubt a leavening of anti-semitism exists in the new left package deal, not least among those of Jewish racial origins. The same phenomenon is seen among most other nations and the package dealers: witness a sign I saw in Wales "Brits Out" which is delightfully soppy but indicative of what it's about. Further to this see *Spare Rib* magazine which is having a split between 'white' and 'coloured' women and the debate on Israel/Zionism/anti-semitism where the white Irish anti-imperialists can bridge the barrier of 'race' and Patriarchy to condemn black Jewish women for not being anti-Zionist enough and other complicated headaches....

A massive screed comes from another signing "God" and claiming to come from the Isle of Dogs. This person was 'sickened' by the cover article on the Israeli invasion of Lebanon almost as much as by the invasion itself. 20,000 people were killed in two months by the second best equipped army in the world... A person who can be 'sickened' by an article almost as much as by the killing of 20,000 people needs to be psycho-analysed. It is not sure which is the best equipped army in the world (USA obviously! As they would not consider China, Russia would be, but may be England or France?)

He denies utterly that the Lebanese Christians are a nation at all. They are "Phalangists" not people. He says quite correctly 'The Phalangists are the progeny of Mussolini as were certain Zionist groups'. This begs the question that the

Palestinian Arab nationalists were the progeny of the Mufti of Jerusalem, the disciple of Hitler who spent war years in Berlin, or that the Zionist groups who emanated from Mussolini's Italy were in fact excluded from the right wing and clashed with Jabotinsky's revisionists which represents Israeli type fascism: and that the "Christians" of Lebanon are an integral part of the country, as are the "Muslims". The Lebanese division is purely feudal affiliation, it has nothing to do with class division nor with ideological difference. 'The left fights within the PLO'. What 'left wing' view does this section of the Lebanese hold? Republicanism? But so too do the Christians! They equally assert their 'uniqueness' as a free nation!

Contrary to "Jacob's" view that anti-Zionists like the one signing themselves "God" are anti-semitic, "God" states that 'it is an insult to Jews to call Israel the Jewish State and not the Zionist State.' (A bit unclear on what "Zion" refers to? But Zionist is a weasel word in the package deal vocabulary!) Israel is clearly a Jewish State. We agree it is an insult to any people to identify them with the State, Arab, Russia, Jewish, British. However, most of the world merits the slur, most of all the Nationalist section!

Finally "God" queries our statement that the Israeli State is democratic, and even social-democratic, pointing out that it is racist and imperialist. Is that contradictory? So is America, so is Britain. Democracy, and even social-democracy is compatible with racialism and imperialism - that is why we are not democrats but Anarchists. "Israel's democracy can only be compared to the Herrenvolk Democracy of South Africa". Quite so, that is the very point we wanted to make. Only the left package dealers want to reserve the term "democracy" for States which have abolished all forms of independent organisation!

Countries which have independent unions are not fascist for the class war can still continue. Countries which have abolished the unions are fascist or totalitarian, 'communist' or feudal because the class struggle cannot continue. But the former can still be racist and imperialist and very often are, the ruling class putting the theories of racialism and nationalism forward precisely as a means of deflecting the class struggle since it continues - yes, 'No Name' even in Republics...even an Irish Republic!

DAZZLING NEWMAN



Dazzled by his police conquest-and-rule in divided Belfast, Sir Kenneth Newman, now Police boss in London, immediately declared that half the population were "the enemy" within.

In his now notorious lecture on the future police role in London (on which we commented in a News Bulletin) the "left wing activists" are stigmatised as the enemy and he makes it clear that this ranges from Anarchists to elected legal representatives. His political declaration as plain as General Franco's and what is interesting is that he *at the same time abdicates any normal police responsibility*.

The Francoists idea of an Army that commits high treason so that national tradition can be respected is neither more nor less absurd than the Newman idea that a police force has to act repressively against its critics and while doing so cannot be expected to prevent the citizens from being plundered at will.

Just as Francoists proclaimed the need to overthrow the Republic - for the

moment, he confines himself to the GLC - and the revolutionaries alike, in order to 'restore respect' for the army and "nation" (whatever was meant in that context), Sir Kenneth Newman proclaims the need to restore respect and fear for the police, and to crack down on critics. But at the same time he affirms that the police can no longer be expected to deal with robbery and personal assaults, road thefts and house break-ins, rape or murder. The job is now too big for the police force we must all co-operate and do the best for ourselves, as the problem in London has become too great for the police and people must tackle the issues in this respect which have social causes.

The reason people reject the Anarchist case is because they say that you must have police to protect them from these crimes. The police themselves say that they cannot do it, that society must do it for themselves.

The Anarchists say that society can only do it when it has abolished the economic and social system which the police exist to defend.

That the Anarchist idea is utopian will be the wonder of the age to future generations - if any - ranking with the beliefs of the middle ages that rulers were appointed by God.

While an institutionalised police force or army exists as part of the State, the people will never defend themselves both because of the illegality of doing so and the apparent lack of necessity. Yet the people can defend themselves against institutionalised anti-social crime. Or is it seriously said that six million citizens of London would be powerless without a police force - and also with one according to Sir Kenneth! - that they cannot protect themselves against some pimply muggers with razors, a few score rapists, some Saturday night drunks, a few big business thugs and a few wild kids? That's all our social problems consist of - the rest are problems of capitalism - and we are told that it cannot deal with crime. Yet this is a city that could have resisted the legal crimes of Hitler's Gestapo, and may yet deal with Newman's or someone else's!

MUNICIPAL ANARCHY

Now the Conservatives want to abolish the GLC - an additional tier of Govt which has no more use than any other tier of Govt. - the Labour Party's left calls for "extra-Parliamentary" action to defend this democratically elected body.

What is needed is extra-Parliamentary action to take its sphere of influence. Not giving control to "elected councillors" who play their own party political games, and think, once in power, that they own the Boroughs, but taking control from them. That is municipal anarchy - the thing they dread happening.

Community councils can run community affairs, without the need for democratically elected dictators in all their tin pot glory.

Municipal anarchy means: Firemen running the fire brigades by their own delegated members. Finance, needed in the capitalist world, would obviously come from the insurance companies.

Hospitals being run by the whole of the workers medical, caring and administrative, within the hospital system. The worker controlled hospital could run in conjunction with a revival of the old friendly society. It would be well entitled to the money drawn by the State as health benefit and spent elsewhere.

The schools have, as the State has discovered, huge hidden funds which the Conservative Govt, now wants to tap. But if the schools have to fend for themselves,

they do not need State direction.

The huge housing estates of the Councils are said to be subsidised. It is a lie. They offer immense financial potential. They can fund the Council budget. At present they are used to help bridge the poverty gap and store up the social services because people are living below subsistence level due to Govt. policy.

Municipal anarchy can begin right away. It should in no way be confused with municipal Govt, which has seized the rights that belong to the people. The first step is to press for all those areas taken from municipal government by the State to be handed over to the workers, themselves.

During the *Cultural Revolution* - the height of Stalinism, Pa Chin was bitterly attacked for the anarchism he would not recant *satisfactorily*. He made the necessary obeisances but did not retract - his life became a *silent shout*. Television audiences a few years ago saw him kneeling on broken glass and being asked to confess his sins, and he declared *I have my ideas and you have yours, the best thing is to kill me*.

Most of the attack on him was led by literary rivals, Yao Wenyan denouncing his novels as *propaganda for Kropotkin's philosophy...Anarchist literary works cause decay because they lead to more and more conflict*. (it didn't do Yao Wenyan any good because he is himself now serving 20 years imprisonment for

his support of the Gang of Four). Later Hu Wanchun began denouncing his works as *poison weeds*. Finally Red Guards from Peking forced themselves into his house beating up Ziao Shan, his wife, locking them both in the toilet, then sending Pa Chin to forced labour. (*We will not execute him because this would be called a policy of a party in decline*). Ziao Shan was dragged to the cattle pen, had a sign pinned to her *Bad Thoughts Element*, later dying of cancer, without hospital help. Their son was sentenced to hard labour.

Pa Chin is now more or less free, and has the satisfaction of seeing his books in demand over the world, including China.



Continued from 'page 25'

WHO WE ARE

ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

The Anarchist Black Cross was re-established in London in 1971 after it had been virtually inactive for some years. Since its re-formation, secretaries have included Guiseppe Pinelli (murdered by the Italian police), George von Rauch (gunned down by W. German police), and Stuart Christie (charged with involvement in 'Angry Brigade' actions). The former international secretary was Miguel Garcia (Spanish civil war activist and guerilla, who spent thirty years in prison at the hands of Franco). The ABC has attempted to provide active assistance to libertarian prisoners, to support/defence group groups and to resistance movements. The ABC has worked for prisoners in Spain, Italy, Greece, USA — one of the cases, that of Lorenzo Komboa Ervin, persisting to the present time — as well as Britain, Ireland, China, Turkey and W. Germany. In Spain it has aided many families of prisoners and also given solidarity to the movement in re-building before and after the fall of Franco. Supporters of the Black Cross are widespread, although the drift away from revolutionary anarchism in certain part of the world during the late 70's contacts grew less. More recently, though, we have made new contacts in Greece, Canada and East Africa, and ABC groups have been set up in Italy and Denmark, while in Spain our friends are many.

If anarchist resistance is to broaden, the need for local and international support/solidarity will be that much greater. We therefore appeal to all anarchists who support revolutionary class-war anarchism to form local, regional and international Black Cross groups in to keep in regular contact with each other. The London section of the ABC continues in the meantime to coordinate information until a new international secretariat is established. Details of the work we are undertaking in this respect are given below:

PUBLICATIONS

Black Flag is now published in two formats as a News Bulletin and a

Journal. The News Bulletin reports on current anarchist news and information about contacts; the journal (which is what you are reading), concentrates on in-depth reporting and background analysis. Both publications are known for their international bias. Any anarchist documentation centre can receive copies of *Black Flag* free on request. We also send copies free to prisoners when requested. International and regional anarchist/anarcho-syndicalist federations who wish copies for their files should let us know. All other contacts who wish to receive *Black Flag* are urged to subscribe. Rates are: Britain — £9; Overseas — £17 (airmail) or £9 (seamail). Publishers of other papers/newsletters are asked to provide these details in their publications

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PRESS RELEASE SERVICE URGENT NEWS MAILINGS

This was set up under the auspices of the Anti-State Documentation and News Network, with which we are directly involved. ASDNN has undertaken to send press releases on behalf of anarchist organisations when there is something major to report. ASDNN has also compiled a list of known international anarchist organisations publishers and local groups for the purpose of mailing out news of an urgent nature. The Urgent News Mailings are automatically sent to these contacts. Individuals can be placed on the mailing list by sending in £2 (Overseas) of £1.50 (Britain) to ASDNN, BM Hurricane, London WC1N 3XX. Recently the Press Release Service and the Urgent News Mailing were both used, on behalf of the Anarchist Black Cross, to publicise the case of hunger strikers Photis Danatos and Kyriakos Miras who were close to death and partly as a result of international protest were later released.

DOCUMENTATION/RESEARCH

ASDNN is, in addition, attempting to create an international index of anarchist archives held in local, regional and international documentation centres. It is hoped that this can be achieved by linking together individual indexes. This would in turn facilitate research and assist in more efficient storage of information. Details of locally held material should be sent to ASDNN at the address quoted if contacts wish to participate in this scheme. Inspiration



for ASDNN was provided in the setting up of the Kate Sharpley Library — a London based anarchist documentation centre, specialising in counter-information as well as anarchist material, in which the *Black Flag* group took a leading part in its inception and development. A summary of the KSL is in this journal. We ask all anarchist publishers to donate material to the library (especially papers/journals). KSL is, we believe, possibly the largest single collection of anarchist archives in Britain.

INTERNATIONAL ANARCHIST INFORMATION EXCHANGE

We hope to combine all the above projects — if this is not too ambitious — and in this respect are looking for new premises. Our current address is not suitable as a permanent address, although we will continue to stay there as long as we are able. Whether we stay where we are or move to a new building (the latter seems the most likely), we intend to bring together our various activities and set up an international anarchist centre based around the work of the ABC. The centre would, we hope, function as an international contact point for news and information. Currently the existing premises is also used by a bookshop collective (121 Books), and functions as a meeting place and contact for several groups (S. London DAM — British section of the IWA/AIT; a London based anarchist youth group, and an anarchist-feminist group). If *Black Flag* is to continue to disseminate news and information and if an information centre, based primarily around the work of Black Cross, is to be established, then further support is essential. You can help by publicising what we are trying to do, by helping to set up Black Cross groups, by contributing to the ABC Prisoners/Mutual Aid Fund, by sending in news (especially news of resistance and of comrades who need support), by participating in the urgent news scheme, by contributing to the documentation index, by sending in copies of local publications etc.

We hope, that with your assistance, we can contribute in our own small way to actively widen and strengthen the growing resistance within the revolutionary movement.

REVIEW

MADE IN BRITAIN — Play
ITV Television

'Made in Britain' was the last, and worst, of three plays by David Leland which were recently transmitted on TV. The theme of the series was the way the educational/welfare system destroys young working class people. The effect however was to reinforce middle-class stereotypes of how young working class people are. The first and third plays in particular portrayed working-class youngsters as violent, destructive and stupid. As a young working-class person myself I felt nothing but insulted by the plays. I went to a comprehensive school in South London, a school with the reputation of being 'hard'. I won't deny that muggings, gang-fights and bullying don't go on, they do, but not to the extent that trendy hacks imagine. For the most part kids just want to carry on like normal adults, without violence and without fear. Bullies for the most part are few and spend most of their time out of school. At our boys school knives were never bandied around at all.

What upsets me more than anything else is the insinuation that we are stupid. Sure, the trendy will blame the system and/or environment but nevertheless young working class people are stupid. What is worse is that all the rebellious kids are totally stupid and ignorant. The skinhead in *Made in Britain* is a caricature, a racist glue-sniffing articulate rebel, a cliché. I cannot remember the times I've seen that character on TV, always the same angry confusion. It's pretty much an article of faith for trendy playwrights to portray rebellious kids as stupid racists.

Uprising, Martin Kettle & Lucy Hodges, Pan Books £2.25 pbk.

Pan Books £2.25 (pbk).

A suitable sub-title would be a 'liberal lefty look at the police, blacks and riots'. An adequate glance at policing and the riots over the past few years. Not very comprehensive, contains no new insights (or incites) and no new startling facts. Factual errors in the descriptions of the Brixton riots. When talking about the *outside agitator* story they mention the Trots - predictably - (who did nothing and never got raided) but fail to mention the *white anarchists* or the *Red Brigades terrorists* who featured a lot in the mass media scapegoat stories. They do mention the anarchist bookshop once or twice in passing, do not talk very much about the *Defence Campaigns*, Totally ignore the P.A.P.O. group which included anarchists squatters, gays, and others less interesting. All in all not a very good book. The bibliography contains no *radical* book or magazine article. If you're really interested track down a copy of *Riot Not to Work*.

Anarchist book service

Unfortunately not all bookshops will carry anarchist titles and those that do are not always easy to get to. The Anarchist Book Service has been set up to provide a mail order service to fill that gap.

We intend to have available titles from all the major anarchist publishers and most of the smaller ones too. Also we will be offering titles that, whilst not specifically anarchist, may be of interest.

Send to: Anarchist Book Service, Box ABS, 121 Railton Road, London SE24

Most mail order suppliers charge postage and/or packing. We do not. The list price of the book is all you pay. More so, on each order received we will send a 10% credit note back to you with the books to use against your next order.

The Anarchist Book Service is a non-profit making, non-wage paying group. All surpluses will be used to improve the range of titles and services available.

Don't intelligent working class kids exist? Or is it that they believe intelligent kids do not rebel? I've never seen an articulate, intelligent working-class rebel on TV in my life. The kid who stands up and says 'I am an anarchist, the system stinks' exists as much as the mindless moron in the school. At our school we had our own anti-fascist group, complete with our own leaflets and graffiti. At fourteen we were arguing the rights and wrongs of Marx and Lenin (not Bakunin unfortunately but we were only kids). It's Tory propaganda to suggest that working-class kids are capable of nothing but mayhem and mindlessness. Ultimately trendy playwrights and arch-Tories share the same views of the working-classes.

Source: P.P.

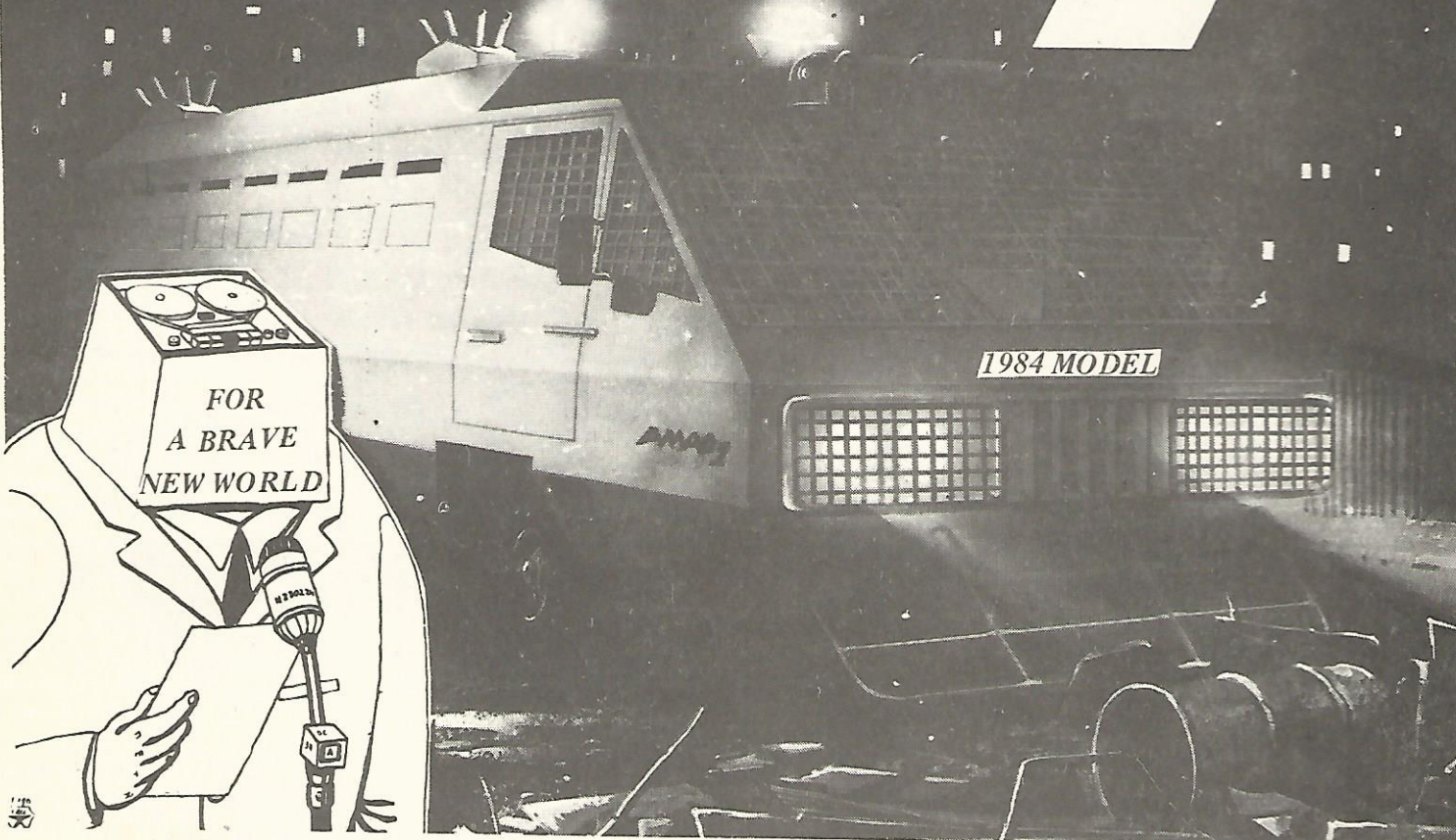
ANSWERS TO QUIZ

1. 'The Spanish Patriot' just behind Waterloo Station is named after a guerrilla fighter (depicted on the pub sign) typical of those who fought against Napoleon in the Peninsular War and were regarded as allies by the British though later sacrificed to reaction (history repeats itself).
2. A *Daily Mirror* cartoon character Popski — modelled in the early twenties on the caricature anarchist but used interchangeably as a 'Bolshi' — has his name given to the 'dirty tricks' commando in the North African campaign ('Popski's Private Army') commanded by Lt. Col. Vladimir Peniakoff.
3. Karl Marx, in a letter to Friedrich Engels.
4. She did say to Alexander Berkman, when she was young, something a little like that, but later in life she went over thoroughly to Berkman's single-mindedness.
5. Mrs Thatcher called her children Carol and Mark — Karl Marx! — suspicious, eh?
6. A direct descendant of John Most is currently a radio commentator on football matches in the United States, but, alas, Johnny Most doesn't want to know anything about his notorious ancestor.

A GOVERNMENT SUPPORTER?
OFCOURSE I AM, BUT HOW
DID YOU EVER GUESS?



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